THE SEA AND SEAFARING MOTIFS IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

A TEXTUAL EXAMINATION OF THE SEA AND SEAFARING MOTIFS IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

October 1966

MASTER OF ARTS (1966)
(English)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: A Textual Examination of the Sea and Seafaring Motifs in Old English Poetry

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SUPERVISOR: Professor A. A. Lee

NUMBER OF PAGES: v, 105

SCOPE AND CONTENT:

I intend to demonstrate a thematic continuity throughout a large section of Old English poetry, first by tracing the exile-seafaring motif in Genesis, Exodus, Andreas, Whale, The Seafarer, The Wanderer, and incidentally in Christ and Satan, Christ, Guthlac and Juliana; I then propose to discuss the image of the sea as retributive agent; and finally, I will consider the sea as the path of the dead.

PREFACE

It is the intention of this paper to examine the image of the sea and of the seafarer in Old English poetry. As a result of the study I intend to establish the validity of a symbolic approach and to shed new light on Beowulf by interpreting it within the context provided by a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon poetic canon. I hope further to demonstrate that Old English poetry is primarily thematic, and that unity must be sought in concept, not in mere narrative progression. Unless one is prepared to look beyond narrative meaning and to discuss the pattern of thematic and verbal contrasts, one cannot do justice to the structural unity of such a poem as Exodus, The Seafarer, The Wanderer, Beowulf, or Andreas.

Because my approach is historical, I have begun with a brief historical introduction to the concept of sea and water in Anglo-Saxon England; because my approach is also textual, I have undertaken a short consideration of sea vocabulary on the supposition that it is the diction, its denotative and connotative significance derived primarily from function, which conveys the message of the poem. Furthermore, I readily concede that textual analysis could be, and perhaps should be, augmented by patristic documentation.

The problem of chronology is not always relevant, but where it is I have accepted Claes Schaar's conclusions (Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 117) that the Caedmonian Group, Beowulf, and the Cynewulfian poems were composed in that sequence. The complicated problem of dating poems from The Exeter Book, where such concern is pertinent, must wait upon the discussion of the individual poem.

I wish here to express my appreciation for the patience and scholarly counsel of Prof. A. A. Lee who has been my sole professorial contact with Old English Literature and who suggested the present topic. My thanks also go to Prof. L. Cummings whose unselfish interest and constant encouragement originally fostered my interest in graduate studies.

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I

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPT OF THE SEA

By geographical necessity the sea played a vital role in the Anglo-Saxon's everyday mercantile and military life. Britain, Bede reports, "lies open to the boundless ocean"[1] off her west coast. The accepted existence of these limitless waters derives from an ordered cosmology which envisions the heavens above, hell below, and earth occupying the middle region, itself circumscribed by water. Poetic action occurs normally under heofenum, under heofenes hador,[2] though there are frequent references to the diabolic realm

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[1] A History of the English Church and People, translated and introduced by Leo Sherley-Price (Edinburgh: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 37, I, 1. All references to Bede's Ecclesiastical History are to this edition.

[2] Bwf. 505, 414; cf. Bwf. 52, 576, 2015; And. 1402; Wan. 107; and elsewhere. Title abbreviations within this paper follow Magoun's code presented in "Abbreviated Titles for the Poems of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Corpus", Études Anglaises, VIII (1955), 144ff.

All line references to Beowulf within this essay are to Frederick Klaeber's 3rd edition (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1950); line references to Andreas are to G. P. Krapp's edition, The Vercelli Book, vol. II of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), hereinafter called Records II; line references to The Wanderer are to The Exeter Book, G. P. Krapp and E. K. Dobbie, eds., vol. III of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 1961, hereinafter called Records III.

below the earth, as evil deeds drag their agent into the demonic depths, or as Satan bemoans the fetters confining him to the windy halls of hell. At the time of creation the middangeard was established be sæ tweonum,[3] swa wæter bebugeð.[4] A basis for the Christian's[5] belief in such waters is clearly presented in the Old Testament. Genesis 1: 2, 6, 7 depicts a primeval state in which the earth is

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[3] Bwf. 858, 1297, 1685, 1956; Glc. 266, 1359; Exo. 443, 563.

This and subsequent references to Guthlac are taken from Records III; line references to Exodus are to The Junius Manuscript, G. P. Krapp, ed., vol. 1 of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), hereinafter called Records I.

In his article "Concerning the Relation Between Exodus and Beowulf", Modern Language Notes, XXXIII (1918), 221n., Klaeber discusses Ran's suggestion that be sæ tweonum meant "between the North Sea and the Baltic". Klaeber concludes that "the phrase seems rather too specialized for the old native, spontaneous formation. The idiomatic way of expressing the broad, general idea involved seems to be indicated by passages like Beowulf 91f. . . . ."

[4] Bwf. 93; cf. Bwf. 1223, And. 333, Pnt. 6. See also the same idea elaborated in Mxm. II, 45ff. in The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, E. K. Dobbie, ed., vol VI of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 1958, hereinafter called Records VI.

[5] A belief in such waters is also present in pagan Scandinavian records. Stanzas 56ff. in "The Prophecy of the Seeress", the first book of The Poetic Edda, suggests such circumscribing waters. Bernhard Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry (New York: New York State University, 1959), p. 120 suggests that "Caedmon's choice of the epithet 'middle-earth' to signify the earth on which man dwells may reflect the pagan cosmogony of Germanic myth. There-

submerged in darkened waters, and even provides for an aquatic firmament. This pre-creation subterranean state is echoed in Genesis (A):[6]

> sweart synnihte, garsecg þeahte
> wonne wægas. side and wide,
> (117ff.)

and the idea is furthered by Bede who gives the following hexaemeric commentary:

> Earth and water are expressly mentioned in Genesis 1: 2, and the other elements must be considered to be present, fire in the iron and stone in the earth, and air in the earth itself, as exhalations show. There was not a complete chaos, but the earth was much like that portion which is now covered by the sea; the waters, completely covering the earth, reached as high as the waters above the firmament.[7]

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in the earth was pictured as set between the home of the gods above and the home of their enemies, the giants, below."

[6] Cf. Gen. 156f.; Phx. 41ff. All references to Genesis are to Records I and to Phoenix to Records III.

[7] As quoted by Frank Egleston Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912), pp. 79ff.

Robbins presents the views of various Church Fathers concerning the watery chaos and the aquatic firmament: pp. 31, 38; 48ff. (Basil), 55 (Gregory of Nyssa), 69 (Augustine), 76 (Erigena), 79ff. (Bede).

Robbins also notes the belief that the world was flat, surrounded by water and that the "rim of the outside is the land beyond the ocean where earth and heaven meet and where Paradise is located." (pp. 60f.) The latter notion is echoed in Phoenix, and also present in the tale of the pagan mariners sailing south-east in quest of the Christian Paradise, a story related by H. R. Ellis, The Road to Hel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. 190f. In Genesis (B) (667) Eve looks south and east to see heaven and hear heavenly choirs.

It is not surprising that people living on an earth surrounded by mysterious, limitless seas should regard these waters with almost superstitious respect. Experience had demonstrated that the same tide which could speed a Beowulf to redeem a ravaged people, might also convey a host of Heathobards to decimate them. Furthermore, many a rider to the sea was making his final journey, a victim of fate. Nor is it surprising that the same awesome respect should populate these depths with aquatic demons; demons alive in their own right, but also possessing a Christian significance for a Christian people. Miss Whitelock concludes that "the average man would believe in the monsters, in the creatures of evil lurking in the waste lands round him."[8] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle supports such a view by recording that "fiery dragons were seen flying through the air" in the year A.D. 793,[9] and further evidence is offered by many English place-names.[10]

This awe for the sea did not stop with water trolls

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[8] Dorothy Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 71f.

[9] P. 54 of G. N. Garmonsway's translation (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1962). Cf. R. W. Chambers, Beowulf, An Introduction (3rd ed., London: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 11, n. 3.

[10] Cf. Chambers, pp. 307f. and Whitelock, pp. 72ff.

and dragons, but the English Christian apparently believed implicitly that the work of God could be seen in the stirring of the seas and in any extraordinary phenomenon in nature. Bede, whose Preface to his Ecclesiastical History stresses his desire to be factual, and who must be considered representative of the devout, educated Christian of his day, submits the belief that

> God stirs the air and raises the winds; He makes the lightnings flash and thunders out of heaven, to move the inhabitants of the earth to fear Him, and to remind them of judgement to come. (p. 206, IV, 3)

The Chronicles testify that in A.D. 678 Coldingham was consumed by heavenly fires, that in 685 the heavens rained blood, that the plague of 1086 was sent "because of a nation's sins", and that as late as A.D. 1129 a great earthquake occurred at a time when heresies were rampant.

Bede supplies many relevant examples whereby a man in the Lord's favour is able to alter the natural law. A disciple of Christ might calm an angry sea; Bishops Germanus, Lupus, and Aidan do (pp. 58f., I, 16; pp. 162ff., III, 15), and so does Ethelwald the hermit (p. 265, V, I). St. Alban is able to divide a turbulent river, and Moses-like to pass through dry-shod (p. 46, I, 7); then, to demonstrate the power of the true God, Alban makes water well from a hilltop, a feat later equalled by Cuthbert (p. 256, IV, 28), Hewald the White and Hewald

the Black (p. 281, V, 10). In true biblical tradition, hostile armies are swept to their death in the jaws of a roaring river (p. 62, I, 20). When mixed with the dust from a holy man's grave or a piece of the true cross, water acquires divine healing powers (e.g. p. 270, V, 4; p. 207, IV, 3; p. 140, III, 2; p. 298, V, 18).[11] A biblical echo reverberates through many of these incidents, and they were possibly all the more believable for that; at any rate, the reader should not be surprised to see their reappearance elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon literature.

Two significant conclusions can be drawn from the above: miracles either tend to duplicate incidents from the Pentateuch, their agents imitating an Old Testament figure (usually Moses) who is himself a figure of Christ, or the agent is an alter-Christo performing New Testament miracles attributed to Christ. It is logical, then, that in Andreas the protagonist, who is explicitly following in the footsteps of Christ, should duplicate the miracles performed by Christ and mentioned within the poem; or that his actions should recall those of Moses who was himself a prefiguration of Christ. Ideal characters seem to be modeled on the life of Christ, and their deeds seem to recall His deeds. Conversely, evil characters and even

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[11] For further comment on the medicinal use of water and holy water see G. Storms, "An Anglo-Saxon Prescription for the Lacnunga", English Studies, XXVIII (1947), 34f.

their surroundings tend to become associated with the demonic and by association to acquire a specific descriptive vocabulary.

II

AN APPROACH TO PHRASES FOR 'SEA'

While establishing general conclusions about Old English phrases for the sea I intend to introduce my approach to the connotative power of the Anglo-Saxon word and the recurrent image of the sea. The outlook I propose rejects Magoun's conviction that "It is hard to believe that they [the scops] had much concern with possible connotative effects produced by passing mention of sails, swans or whales."[1] The implications of such a thesis as Magoun's severely limit one's critical approach to Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the welcome articles of Adrien Bonjour[2] and Caroline Brady[3] provide the beginnings of a

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1 "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Poetry", Speculum, XXVIII (1953), 446-467, reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, Lewis E. Nicholson, ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1963), p. 199.

2 "The Sea Images in Beowulf", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LIV (1955), 111-115.

3 "The Synonyms for 'Sea' in Beowulf", Studies in Honor of Albert Morey Sturtevant (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Publications, 1952), pp. 22-46; and "The Old English Nominal Compounds in -RAD", Publications of the Modern Language Association, LXVII (1952), 538-571. For a discussion which follows the media via on the problem of the influence of alliteration on the scop's selection

rebuttal by specifically demonstrating that the inclusion of sails, swans or whales need hardly be a "passing mention".

Fostered, perhaps, by the familiar mercantile, military and religious pilgrimage is the large group of words which suggest a close connection between land and sea, and visualize a pathway across the aquatic regions. Compounds of -strǽt (lagustrǽt, faroðstrǽt, merestrǽt, herestrǽt), -pað (mearcpað, seolpað), -weg (bāðweg, feorweg, flodweg, hwælweg), often -lad (sǽlad, brimlad, lagulad, yðlad) and -faru (wægfaru, yðfaru, brimfaru) are chief among this group; though each retains its own connotative significance designated by the compound elements,[4] these words appear most often during safe, fast voyages. -Stream compounds (eagorstream, eastream, brimstream, egstream, lagustream, merestream, sǽstream), etymologically meaning 'to flow', imply movement over the expanse; -rad compounds (brimrad, hronrad, seglrad, swanrad)

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of words see Anne Treneer, The Sea in English Literature From Beowulf to Donne (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1929), pp. 35ff. See also Helen Therese McMillan Buckhurst, "Terms and Phrases for the Sea in Old English Poetry", in Studies in English Philology in Honor of Frederick Klaeber, Kemp Malone and Martin B. Ruud, eds. (Minneapolis:University of Minnesota Press, 1929), pp. 103-199. Her very orderly discussion considers simple terms for the sea, compounds, the effect on meaning produced by certain adjectives, and the difference between Old English and Old Norse phrases for the sea.

[4] Hwælweg is possibly an exception; see pp. 48f.

are a similar group whose derivation from ridan adds an equestrian element suggestive of motion.[5] Land-sea relations and the notion of movement make all the more plausible and meaningful such terms for ship as sæmearh, sæhengest, brimhengest, wæghengest, fearoðhengest whose compound elements imply quick passage over the sea's back.[6]

The close association between land and sea is also clear in the word holm and its compounds; etymologically 'a hill or rising ground' (Bosworth-Toller), the word seems to convey the idea of rolling waters.[7] In the phrase wegas ofer widland (And. 198) there is a specific identification of sea and earth paths;[8] herestræt, Exodus 284 and Andreas 200, refers to sea paths but Andreas 831 can only refer to streets on dry land.

The profusion and frequency of the compounds just discussed, the movement and destination they imply only

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[5] In her searching and intelligent article on the -rad compound Miss Brady examines the meaning of each in context and notes in general a shift from the idea of riding or journey in se to the object (a ride or place for riding) and to the vehicle on which one rides.

[6] See Elene 225-255, and my discussion of Whale p. 48.

[7] See Brady's "Synonyms for 'Sea' in Beowulf", p. 33.

[8] For a discussion of differences of scholarly opinion over the phrase, see Claes Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group (Copenhagen: Esnar Munksgaard, 1949). p. 50.

adumbrate the pilgrimage motif which will be given extensive consideration later. It is no large mental step from the journey on land, foldweg, to the symbolic pilgrimage on sea, flodweg; at the end of the earthly journey there is the final pilgrimage, upweg (And. 830, Glc. 1306). Hence, both Andrew and Guthlac, as disciples of Christ, direct men on lifes weg, on the paths one must follow in this life to reach his lifes brytta.

The use of the word weallan, as we shall see, demonstrates the giving of attributes of the sea to humans thereby providing what was undoubtedly a vitally clear image of an intense emotional state. Conversely, again stressing the close association between man and sea, is the giving of human attributes to the sea: ofer brimes bosme, ofer wæteres hrycg, brimwylm onfeng, on flodes æhte, or in more extended images as

> nacud nydboda, fah fe∂egast, ece sta∂ulas, neosan come, se ∂e feondum geneop. (Exo. 474ff.)

From this same tendency, I think, comes the word garsecg. William J. Redbond discusses the interpretative history of this word in some detail.[9] Yet, the question to be answered

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[9] "Note on the Word 'Gar-Secg'", Modern Language Review, XXVII (1932), 204-206. He records Sweet's interpretation 'raging creature' derived from gas-ric; gars-ecg meaning 'spear-edge' and referring to the waves; Neptune and the sea god with his trident. Redbond then suggests 'sea mare' as the meaning of garsecg, positing the Celtic gaseg as the Anglo-Saxon word's source.

surely relates to the compound elements of garsecg, and not to some possible Scandinavian reconstruction (an uncertain procedure at the best).[10] Kemp Malone argues the meaning of gar as 'storm' and offers Genesis 316 as proof. The reasoning seems sound, and Caroline Brady accepts it with reservations;[11] yet, it does rest on the probable meaning of one use of a word in context. Taken in the phrase garsecges begang (And. 530) the word makes good sense by assigning to its compound elements their most common meanings. It is perhaps no accident that in the poems in which garsecg appears most frequently (Exo. 281, 345, 431, 490; And. 238, 371, 392, 530) the word herestræt is used to refer to the sea paths (Exo. 284, And. 200). As in the term heaðuliðend (And. 426; Bwf. 1789, 2955) it is because the sea is the region over which the warrior travels, on which he fights, and often over which his lifeless corpse is carried that the term is appropriate; hence the appropriateness of garsecges begang. There is another very striking identification of the warrior and the word garsecg in Exodus. Note the parallel structure, the intimate relationship established between each hemistich in the following two comparisons:

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[10] "Old English Gar 'Storm'", English Studies, XXVIII (1947), 42-45.

[11] "Synonyms for 'Sea' in Beowulf", 41.

(þufas wundon
ofer garfare) guðcyste onþrang
deawig sceaftum.

Dægwoma becwom
ofer garsecge, godes beacna sum,
morgen mæretorht; (Exo. 342ff.)

If the minute juxtaposing does not draw one's attention to ofer garfare and ofer garsecge the words themselves will, and obviously did to the scop. The patterned vision which imagined the similarity between the waving of the glittering banners over a troop of warriors and the rush of sunlight over the sea, the press of soldiers and the rising of the sun, the dewy sparkle of spears and the rayed splendour of the sunrise surely selected garsecge as a judicious auditory and conceptual echo of garfare.

This tendency to personify the sea becomes significant in several poems wherein the sea, and often nature, act as the Lord's agent in destroying the wicked or rewarding the virtuous; at other times it heightens tension by suggesting overwhelming odds and diabolic agency.

The word wielm -- variously written walm, wælm, wealm, welm, wylm -- is second in dramatic intensity only to yðgewinne. Because wielm conveniently demonstrates the connotative power of Anglo-Saxon words and simultaneously furthers our knowledge of the image of the sea, I have given it extensive investigation. Holthausen's Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, along with lesser reference books such as Clark Hall's Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, lists

the word as a derivative of weallan, a verb signifying surging, swelling action, perhaps sea surgings though not necessarily. In The Junius Manuscript, The Vercelli Book, Beowulf, and The Exeter Book (excluding the riddles) to which I have limited their examination the words further suggest violent, often destructive, ominous action, with demonic associations, the latter especially when applying to fire.

One would expect to find such a dynamic word as wielm in the Genesis description of Noah's Flood. In fact, the word does not appear. In the 49 verbal situations where the sea is mentioned in the Noah episode, wæter is used nine times[12] -- often two or three times in close proximity -- and flod appears in the simplex seven times.[13] Most of the words used to describe the sea in themselves by no means denote violent action, and very few compounds are employed; verbs and adjectives (too often sweart or deop) are called upon to do yeoman's service in a manner markedly different from Beowulf or Andreas where verb, adjective and the connotative power of nouns and compounds combine for maximum dramatic effect. The author does, however, devote more care to his description of the ark in

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[12] Verses 1300, 1325, 1331, 1377, 1395, 1409, 1445, 1451, 1460.

[13] Verses 1296, 1298, 1323, 1386, 1405, 1419, 1457.

a manner which suggests greater concern for Noah's welfare and the rewarding of virtue than for the punishing of evil.[14]

A form of wielm appears three times referring to fire and a fourth, hygewælm (980), describing the surges of evil within the scheming mind of Cain. The punitive fires of hell, heaðowelm (Gen. B 324), are echoed in the weallende fyr (2544), wylme (1925), wylmhatne lig (2586) which swallowed Sodom and Gomorrah. Other forms of weallan describe mental anguish experienced by Satan (Gen. B 353), and the devil's counsel for Eve (Gen. B 590).

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[14] The following two lists of words for 'sea' and 'ark' as they appear in the Deluge episode reveal the scop's relative concern for imaginative terms to describe the ark. The overuse of earc is an obvious exception, but in many ways the inventive variety of ship vocabulary rivals that of Beowulf 1862-1913.
Words for 'sea': flod, 1296; flod, 1298; wæter, 1300; wælstream, 1301; flod, 1323; wæter, 1325; sæstream, 1326; wæter, 1331; mereflod, 1341; wællreon, 1350; wæg breat, 1352; racu, 1355; willeburnan, 1373; egorstream, 1374; sæ, 1375; wæter, 1377; wæg, 1397; mere, 1381; yð, 1385; flod, 1386; sund, 1388; wæter, 1395; drenceflod, 1398; flod, 1405; stream, 1406; wæter, 1409; willflod, 1412; lagu, 1413; flod, 1419; yð, 1430; holm, 1431; sæflod, 1437; lad, 1444. Almost invariably the few compounds contain flod or stream. Of the 88 references to 'sea' in all of Genesis A 34 are accounted for by either wæter or flod, 34 by other words in the simplex, and only twenty by compounds, seven of them containing flod.
Words for 'ark': merehus, 1303; scip, 1306; wudufæsten, 1312; merecíest, 1317; geofonhus, 1321; lid, 1332; earce bord, 1333; sundreced, 1335; wægbord, 1340; hof, 1345; earce bord, 1354; earce bord, 1357; wægbæl, 1358; hrof, 1360; merehus, 1364; earc, 1366; bord, 1369; earc, 1389; scip, 1391; hof, 1393; earce bord, 1403; lides bosme, 1410; famig scip, 1417; nægledbord, 1418; fær, 1419; holmærne, 1422; earc, 1423; nægledbord, 1433; scip, 1436; hus, 1442; wægbele, 1446; earc, 1450; earc, 1461; cofan, 1464; lid, 1479; bord, 1481; bellfæsten, 1482; earc, 1488; hof, 1489; wægbele, 1496.

Exodus' raging waters of the Red Sea demand powerfully descriptive substantives; yet wielm never appears. There is a markedly greater variety in terms for the sea,[15] but descriptive action and tension are established by verbs and adjectives (often short and pithy),[16] by the very heavy alliteration characteristic of the poem,[17] and by placing verbs in stress positions (see vv. 455-495). The only form of wielm again describes a mental state, the heaðowylmas (148) of the faithless Egyptian hearts.

The word appears three times in Christ and Satan within twelve lines. Twice the reference is to hell-fire, brynewelme (27) and on welme (39), and once apparently to troubled waters commonly associated with the upper regions of hell, though possibly also to the flames of hell:

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[15] Note the variety of words in the first 52 lines dealing with the incident at the Red Sea (none of these words appears in Exodus before this episode): garsecg, 281; yð, 282; water, 283; wæg, 283; herestræt, 284; holm, 284; yð, 288; brimweg, 290; brim, 290; sæcir, 291; stream, 296; wægfaru, 298; mere, 300; wæstream, 311; sund, 319; sealtne mersc, 333. Moreover, of the 57 occurrences of words referring to the sea, water is used only three times (283, 451, 572) and flod three times (362, 463, 482).

[16] e.g. atol yða gewealc (456), streamas stodon (460), flod blod gewod (463). See vv. 455-495.

[17]
Flod famgode,
lagu land gefeol,
wicon weallfæsten,
multon meretorras,
mid halige hand,
on werbeamas.
fæge crungon,
lyft wæs onhrered,
wægas burston,
þa se mihtiga sloh
heofonrices weard,
(482ff.; italics added)

in ðone deopan wælm
niðer under næssas . . . . . (30f.)

The word form is quite common in demonic situations: Flor attre weol (317).

The fyres wylm (214, 240, 463) of Daniel has no directly satanic application, though the fire was initiated by and actually turned on enemies of God (250-267). Like watery wellings elsewhere, the fiery wielm is basically either purgative or punitive and poses no threat to the soðfæst.

Forms of wielm and weallan are quite frequent in the post-Beowulf Andreas. Ofer flodes wylm (367) varies ofer yða gebring to magnify the image of a sea which threatens death, a supposition reinforced by gedrefed, onhrered, wælgifre, hwælmere, hronfisc (hornfisc), and garsecg, all of which introduce the mounting wæter egesa.[18] Later, the rushing, plunging action expressed by the respective elements of streamwelm (495), intensified by hwileð and beateþ, augments the praise being heaped upon the Captain, Christ, a significant fact in light of the symbolic nature

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18 Hronfisc is Schaar's emendation, pp. 53f. His argument is convincing, but either word is appropriate here despite the ambiguity of hornfisc.

Why garsecg forbodes death is implicit in the previous discussion, pp. 12f. That there is a hint of spiritual death is substantiated by the suggestion that Andrew's disciples desert their lord (Lord); the words hwælmere and hronfisc (if the emendation from hornfisc be accepted) also suggest spiritual trial (see my discussion of Whale, pp. 47ff.).

of the episode.[19] As the seas grow calm, ȳðum stilde (451) is dramatically contrasted with wæteres wælmum where wælmum summarizes the above-stressed wæteregesa (435, 445); Andrew's followers recount their being given angelic protection ofer ȳða wylm (863) where wylm suggests the terrible actual and symbolic capacity of the raging waters; finally, flodwylm (516) introduces the summary aphorism stressing the terrors of the sea and the providence of God. Through the trial at sea Andrew not only reaffirms the faith in his God which had previously faltered, but he even preaches it; his disciples, who had momentarily lost confidence in their lord (Lord) in the face of the storm at sea, are strengthened and taken into the Father's protection.

The fire-water union established during the climactic deluge consolidates much of what has already been said. Flod ȳðum weoll (1546) varies flugon fyrgnastas and recalls the hatan headowælme (1542) which confines the deofles þegnas to their Gomorrah, thereby stressing the punitive-purgative nature of the flood, a flood contrasted immediately with the purely purgative waters of baptism.

Here and elsewhere wielm and weallan frequently combine fiery and demonic suggestions. Referring to the

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[19] This signification is discussed on pp. 41ff. The implication is that no matter how severe the spiritual trials of life are, the seafarer can always turn confidently to his Lord.

mægga miscehygd morðre bewunden (772; cf. 19) the scop notes:

geond beorna breost, weoll on gewitte, attor ælfæle.
Man wridode brandhata nið weorm blædum fag, (767ff.)

Almost every second word has satanic overtones, and weoll fits well into such a context. Similarly, the Christ scop describes the flames on the day of Judgment:

wælmum biwrecene . . . . in fyrbaðe, (830f.)

Sometimes, however, forms of weallan apply to mental states and are used as intensives, as we have seen. After Andrew is admonished to live by Christ's example and is warned that his life's blood will flow like streaming waters as Christ's has, the Auschwitz experience begins for him: blod yðum weoll (1240), Swat yðum weoll (1275), blat ut faran,/ weoll waðuman stream (1279f.). The word weoll perfectly condenses the concept of mental and physical anguish inflicted by evil beings; the echoing water image recalls Andrew's conquest over the earlier yða wylm, the spiritual trials of life, and anticipates his final triumphant journey over the waves.

The battle preparations in Elene are given ominous importance by the appropriate phrase: ymb þæs wæteres wylm (39); only a miracle averts disaster. The descriptions of hell-fire are becoming characteristic: þær hie in wylme ru / dreogaþ deoðcwale in dracan fæðme (764f.); in hatne wylm (1297); in þæs wylmes grund (1299), heaðuwylme in hellegrund

(1305); in wylme (1310); and indirectly heaðowelma (581). Inner feelings are intensified, though no demonic association is implied, in heafodwylm (1132), cearwelmum (1257).

The use of wælme (1006) and fyres wælm (965) in Christ sums up the punitive fires which will embrace the evil on the day of Judgement. Typically, the reference is to hell-fire in fyres wylm (191, 374) and brynewylm (672) of Guthlac. Sorgwylmum (1073) is appropriately descriptive of the weeping occasioned by the hell-flames; again there is the mental sarwylm (1150, 1262); hreþer innan weoll (979), teagor yðum weol . . . on hreþer weg (1340f.).

The poor condition of the manuscript makes it impossible to ascertain the implications of wylme descriptive of the hot streams in Ruin (39), but its proximity to harne stan suggests diabolic undercurrents of meaning.[20]

There are satanic associations with the bælwylme (336) in Juliana, and the ædra wylm (478) is reminiscent of the torments Andrew was forced to undergo at evil hands. Juliana's trial is heightened by the laðe hate weol (581) in þæs leades wylm (583). However, as in Daniel, the punitive-purgative fires are not meant for one in God's favour; they turn on and consume the enemies of Truth.

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[20] For the implications of harne stan see pp. 79ff.

So too the evil Eleusius must submit to his fate and is swallowed burh wæges wylm (680) into the welling flames of hell, a hell described in Whale as grundleasne wylm (46), edwylme (73).

The three-fold application of wielm and weallan to fire, water and mental states is apparent in the foregoing study. Fiery wellings are most frequently infernal, and are always associated in some way with the torments of evil beings;[21] this is not entirely true of watery surgings, though their purgative nature is more obvious than the similar capacity Elene 1308ff. assigns to the fyres wylm. Weallan often describes a mental state, frequently one incited by an evil agent; furthermore, by its association with wielm, weallan suggests mental as well as physical anguish.

Weallan has numerous such applications in Beowulf; hreðer inne weoll (2113), breost innan weoll (2331), (cf. 2065, 2599, 2463f.); the same idea is often repeated in

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[21] The brondes wylm (283) in Phoenix is an obvious exception and the only one I have discovered. Here the fires are purifying and life-giving, a fact accounted for by the Christian symbolism which is curiously inlaid on a pagan myth evident in the deification of the sun and the concept of the funeral pyre. The flames also claim Beowulf's body in a similar rite which was designed to cleanse and to free the soul so that new life might begin (see p. 93).

Egerum flodwylmum (Phx. 64) is also a peculiar use of wielm, describing as it does a gushing life-giving paradisal stream.

a compound of the substantive wielm: breostwylm (1877), cearwylm (282, 2066), sorhwylm (904, 1993), heortan wylmas (2507). The word appears with more frequency here than in any other extant poem; moreover, it retains the same sense as the earlier Caedmonian poems and the later Andreas and others assign to it, though it is never merely the intensive of Elene or Guthlac.

With one exception -- v. 393 where the context merely suggests an equation with yð -- wielm appears where one might expect as a result of the foregoing discussion. The infernal connotations of the fiery wielm augment the diabolic image of an already satanic creature, the dragon,[22] who guards a barrow which is appropriately hlæw under hruson holmwylme neh (2411), spews hate heaðowylmas (2819), so that fyr . . . weoll (2581f.), brynewylmum (2326), fyrwylmum (2671), burnan wylm (2546); and because of the dragon's desperate attack, poison wells through Beowulf's life-streams (2714).

Characteristically, wæteres wylm epitomizes Beowulf's recounting of Grendel's mere (2135; cf. 2138); when Beowulf entered that mere where flod blode weol (1422), wæteres wylm (1693), it is said of the demon-infested waters

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[22] For comment on the demonic nature of the dragon and some difference of opinion among scholars see p. 82 n. 37. The heaðowylma bad (82) which forebodes the destruction of Heorot is given ominous significance by the word wylm, especially as it is varied by the following laðan liges.

that brimwylm onfeng (1494). Likewise, the danger of the sea in the Breca episode and a suggestion as to the nature of its inhabitants are implied in the emphatic repetition yþum weol / wintrys wylm [um] (515f.), twice echoed in wado weallende (546, 581).

The blending of blood and water mentioned earlier in Exodus (e.g. flod blod gewod (463)) foreshadows both the sound and theme of the phrase flod blode weol (1422) which describes Grendel's mere. In a similar manner the phrases heorodreore weol (849) during Grendel's death throes in the seething deep, and swat yðum weoll (2693) during Beowulf's agony (later echoed in Andreas) are thematically climaxed in deaðes wylm (2269) of the lone survivor's lament.

Old English poetic terms for the sea are rich not just in number, but also in connotative significance. By describing the dragon's deadly fires with words commonly applied to verbal pictures of hell, the poet automatically establishes an association with Satan and hell (though he does not, of course, identify the dragon with Satan or the barrow with hell). Because of its consistent context a word like deaðscle must designate as hell or hellish any hall to which it refers, the hypothetical intentions of a scop and the oral-formulaic theory notwithstanding. The scops were professional weavers of words who did not make "passing mention of sails, swans or roads", but who for the

most part selected words judiciously for sound and sense. Consequently, such a word as swanrad or a phrase as ȝanotes bæð can only be appreciated fully when it is examined in context for its total effectiveness.[23]

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[23] For comment on swanrad and ȝanotes bæð see p. 86. R. A. Kissack's method of examining words out of context and considering only their compound elements merely begins one's appreciation of Old English terms for the sea. See his "The Sea in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry", Washington University Studies, XIII (1926), 371-389.

III

THE EXILE - SEAFARING MOLF

Because of their immense influence on the every-day life of the Anglo-Saxon, the seas provided a vivid vehicle for religious instruction. Such instruction is often implicit in the recurrent idea of pilgrimage and its related theme of exile.[1] Of the large number of articles written lately to investigate the concept of exile, S. L. Greenfield's "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry"[2] is the most thought-provoking. His conclusion ratifies the approach to the oral-formulaic question adopted within this paper when he suggests that

> The most notable advantage [of a highly stylized poetry] is that the very traditions it employs lend extra-emotional meaning to individual words

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[1] C. J. Timmer, "The Elegiac Mood in Old English Poetry", English Studies, XXIV (1942), 44 concludes that the Christian use of the elegiac concept (a concept often related to exile in Old English poetry) accounts for the survival of elegy in Old English writings and that to posit a natural Germanic attraction to the elegiac is to miss the mark.

[2] Speculum, XXX (1955), 200-206. In this article he discusses four aspects of exile: status, deprivation, state of mind, movement in or into exile. See also Leonard H. Frey, "Exile and Elegy in Anglo-Saxon Epic Poetry", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXII (1963), 293-302. The article is less comprehensive and less informative.

> and phrases. That is, the associations with other contexts using a similar formula will inevitably color a particular instance of a formula so that a whole host of overtones springs into action to support the aesthetic response. (p. 205)

Because words do solicit this associative response, one can trace the theme of exile in its various applications initially to Lucifer (consequently to Cain and his damned kindred) and to Adam and Eve (consequently to all sorrowing Christians exiled by the effects of original sin). The exilic pilgrimage, which originally has associations with the land-paths only, soon is symbolically connected with the journey over sea streets in the eternal quest to return to the heavenly home.

As Genesis opens, Lucifer, the first exile, has proved faithless towards his Lord, and æðele beseyrede (63) he must forfeit his heavenly home in favour of the witehus wræcna (39), the wræcliene ham (37), the wræcstowe (90) where those who strive with God must eternally dwell on wrace (71).[3] Such phrases become recurrent throughout Old English poetry and certainly throughout Genesis which repeatedly echoes the themes of exile and search.

The pattern continues in the episode of Adam and Eve. They too fail their Lord and the paths of exile are

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[3] The phrase æðele beseyrede, as does the later rices leas (372), suggests that if wræc is to mean 'torment' it must also convey the idea of exile.

their reward. When an angry Drihten dismisses them from Paradise, He declares:

> "Þu scealt oðerne eðel secean,
> wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan
> nacod niedwædla, neorxnawanges
> dugeðum bedæled; . . . ." (927ff.)

Their new home will be a less joyful one, but not the witehus of Satan and his thanes; they will oðerne eðel secean, but will not be rices leas (372) like Satan and his followers, though the kin of Adam and Eve, like Satan (63),

> to þis enge lond, hweorfan sceoldan
> eðle bescyrede.
> (Chr. 31f.; cf. Man. 20)

As it has for Lucifer (Ast. 121), this separation from their true land leaves Adam and Eve dugeðum bedæled, though those who follow Adam's example and repent their faults may regain the lost land after a period of exilic wandering over the paths of this world; for those who follow Lucifer there is only eternal exile.

Adam's repentance speech (vv. 828ff.) (considered in more detail on pp. 59f.) begins the exile-seafaring motif. In a glaring departure from biblical sources -- no doubt a particularly meaningful addition for the Anglo-Saxon seafaring people -- Adam professes a willingness to leave Paradise, to become a seafarer, and wander even to the dreaded depths of the sea in order to prove obedience to his lord. The pledge is all the more to be wondered at since Adam could not conceivably have had any knowledge of

a storm-tossed sea, and his contact with the watery expanse had been limited to the four rivers which streamed through Paradise. Yet the phrases sæ wadan (830), on flod faran (832), and to þam grunde genge (834) all suggest the wandering motif, as the subsequent terms relating to a thane's loss of his lord clearly demonstrate:

> Nis me on worulde niod
> æniges þegnscipes,
> nu ic mines þeodnes hafa
> hyldo forworhte,
> þæt ic hie habban ne mæg.
> (835ff.)

Similarly, Adam's dread of wind and hail (805ff.), trials later echoed in The Seafarer, The Wanderer, Andreas and alluded to in Phoenix, is hardly consistent with his limited experience; elemental scourgings represent the hardships of life generally, just as Adam's willingness to set out to sea signifies his leaving of Paradise and the beginning of his life as a temporary exile on this earth.

The elaborate fruit image (988ff.) which describes Cain's lineage makes clear that he is the evil product of his parents' sin.[4] His exile echoes theirs (cf. 928, 1014) though it is more severe. He is deprived of more than the favour of the heavenly hosts and the Lord decrees:

> ". . . forþon þu flema scealt
> widlast wrecan,
> winemagum lað." (1020f.)

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[4] This, of course, is in keeping with patristic tradition. For exegetical discussions of Cain see Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 153ff. and G. V. Smithers, "The Meaning of The Seafarer and The Wanderer", Medium Ævum, XXVI (1957), 143f.

His exile, like Satan's, is a winelees wrecca (1015) to which there is no end; even the earth is to be unproductive for him. All of this is later echoed in Grendel's hapless fate. To him and his progeny have been given the moorlands wherein he keeps his wynlees wic (LWf. 821).

The union of Cain's descendents and those of Seth is a marriage of good and evil and is monstrous in the eyes of God Who sends the deluge to destroy them, leaving only Noah and his family to sustain earthly existence.[5] Secure within the ark, they do not merely weather the storm but make a journey to a new, purified land.[6] The scop says of their

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[5] For a more detailed discussion of the nature of this marriage see p. 61 and p. 61 n. 2.

[6] Cham, of course, carries the seeds which perpetuate evil. The process is a common one. God created the angels for good, but Lucifer injected the element of evil. So too Adam and Eve mar the goodness of creation, Cain stains the purity of the new generation, and when Cain's tribe is destroyed by the deluge, Cham remains. Guthlac A begins with an historical note on the struggle of good and evil, but continues by observing that there will always be one man strong in virtue to carry on the combat against evil. In Beowulf, the song of creation introduces the discordant note struck by monsters of evil, Grendel's kin and descendents of Cain; so too, the building of Heorot is immediately followed by the caution that evil hands and the devouring flame must one day claim even it.

lagosiða (1486):

> Geþȳdde þa wigend weroda drihten
> worde ofer widland. (1411f.)

For this reason,

> þrymme gepeahtne þenden lago hæfde
> þriddan eðyl. (1491f.)

The þriddan eðyl has, of course, been subject to much speculation.[7] Utley's suggestion[8] logically divides the three lands into that before the Flood, the many months in the ark, and the new land after the Deluge. All that remains is to determine the nature of this postdiluvian land. Clearly, they are restored to the earth which they left:

> "Þe is eðelstol eft gerymed,
> lisse on lande, lagosiða rest
> fæger on foldan . . . ." (1485ff.)

Yet the Lord's pledge to them and His admonition to establish a new-found land (1512ff.) echo the words to Adam and Eve as they left Paradise (952ff.). Obviously there cannot be a complete literal equation of heaven and

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7 Krapp, Records I, p. 178 notes Kook's suggestion "that the poet had in mind heaven (air), earth, and ocean (water), not heaven, earth, and hell, as Holthausen, notes, [sic] states."

8 Francis Lee Utley, "The Flood in the Junius Manuscript and in Baltic Literature", Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur, S. B. Greenfield, ed. (University of Oregon, 1963), 215.

the new land. Whereas one cannot, like Huppé, look for symbolism in every detail, Huppé's assertion that their eagerness to leave the ark and to arrive at their final destiny (1431ff.) signifies the anxiety of Noah and his family for the heavenly home[9] is certainly consistent with the theme of exile and search traced thus far in Genesis. The wanderings of Abraham continue this theme and the sacrifice of Isaac with which Genesis concludes symbolises the promise of a Redeemer who will free man from the Limbo of this earth and terminate the agony of exile. The supposition posited by Huppé is reinforced by the constant reference to Noah and his family as seafarers (1395, 1407, 1432, 1472, 1475). Although here the term does logically complement the narrative, 'seafarer' may also imply the earthly wanderer in search of his heavenly home, as we saw earlier in the exile of Adam. Patristic commentary on the Flood demonstrates that the Old Testament episode was indeed commonly considered by educated Anglo-Saxons to be representative of heavenly guidance to the eternal home.[10]

'Exile' can apply literally to the earthly wanderer severed from his earthly kingdom when the concept bears no

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[9] Doctrine and Poetry, p. 174.

[10] Huppé, ibid., pp. 171ff. provides a wealth of patristic commentary.

reference to the Divine. Abraham, for example, at his wife's request, Ismael on wræc drife (2792), an incident which fits well into the pervasive theme of exile in Genesis.

The theme of the seafarer as earthly exile is explicit in Exodus, and is adumbrated in the opening lines wherein the law of Moses, exemplified in the whole of Exodus, promises:

> in uprodor eadigra gehwam
> æfter bealusiðe[11] bote lifes,
> lifigendra gehwam langsumne ræd, - (4ff.)

Having discussed the bealusiðe of the sons of Joseph, the scop immediately returns to the direct explication of his theme. He notes that if one will turn his mind to the gospel, its application for men will become evident; and as a basis for the understanding of the Exodus story he points out concerning the earthly gystsele (535) that þis is læne dream (532) wherein man lives Eðellease (534), wreccum alyfed (533),[12] and that for the soðfæst there is the lengran lifwynna (532) of heaven, as the biblical books have revealed.

For this reason the Jews are termed eðelleasum (139) and wræcmon (137) within the biblical episode. They are exiles because they have been deprived of their native land --

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[11] Translated as "after the woeful journey (on earth)."

[12] The context makes it clear that wræc here and v. 137 must be translated as 'exiles'.

literally Jerusalem, symbolically the home forfeited by Adam -- and live in the sorrowful bonds of captivity. Moreover, even though they do not actually ever set sail while on their journey, they are called sæman (105), holmegum wederum (118), flotan (223, 331), sæwicingas (333), who are led to safety by a segle (81), neða seglrode geseon meahton (83). God, lifes brytta, becomes their guide, and the seafarer becomes the familiar exile passing through the hardships of life on a journey to his heavenly home, a supposition strengthened by the following passage which appears even before the tribes reach the Red Sea:

> Forð gesawon
> lifes latþeow lifweg metan;
> swegl siðe weold, sæmen æfter
> foron flodwege. (103ff.)

The significance of the Crossing of the Red Sea is given more extended consideration later (pp. 65ff.), but (if I may anticipate) the baptismal motif most likely related to these waters in the Anglo-Saxon mind, also suggests preparation for the heavenly home by the purging of evil (the Egyptian hosts) and the embracing of truth.

Such waters might well remind the scop of the similar theme related to Noah, þrymfæst þeoden (363), who led the greatest of treasures over the sea streams to begin a new life; logically, he might also recall Noah's descendent, Abraham, who also on wræc lifde (383) literally and symbolically, and who proved himself fæst

treowe (423), so that in keeping with the theme of the poem he

> in lifdagum awa to aldre
> freoðo sceal lengest weorðan, unswiciendo. (423ff.) [13]

Familiar phrases denoting exile echo throughout many poems. Even though there is not always a direct relation with the sea, such phrases deserve at least brief consideration since they demonstrate a continuity of the exile theme and since they reaffirm ideas to reappear especially in the discussion of Andreas, The Seafarer, and The Wanderer.

Christ and Satan (I) centres upon Satan's exile and repeats many descriptive phrases occurring in the Genesis account. Satan is a different character from his Genesis predecessor, one who realises that

> for oferhygdum
> bættran ham æfre ne wene (49f.);

yet he must typically wadan wræclastas (120), duguðum bedeled (121).[14] More important than the scop's use of what are now common phrases is his establishing of a finely-wrought verbal contrast between the heavenly and

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[13] Translated as "eternally unperishable"; the redundancy stresses the promise of continued life in another land.

[14] Similarly, cf. 187f. and 257f. Compare siðas wide (188) to the similar connotation in Gen. 905.

the diabolic home, a contrast which never really disappears from Old English poetry. The scop uses the similarity of expressions like windsele (135, 319, 384) and winsele (93), dimman ham and deoran ham (110, 336; 218, 255) to contrast the sorrows of the demonic with the relative joy of the earthly and bliss of the heavenly drihts. As part of this common tripartite driht hell becomes the ðeostre ham (38), helle ham (88), hæftum ham (91, 147), atola ham (95), walica ham (99), dimman ham (110, 336), laðan ham (177), sidan sele (130), windiga sele (135, 319, 384), with its helle duru (97, 720); conversely, heaven is heofonum ham (275), bættran ham (49), hyhtlicra ham (215), uplicne ham (361), deoran ham (218, 255).

The same pattern of imagery continues throughout the Harrowing of Hell, as one might expect. Those secure in Truth are to be led from the windsele (384), up to eðle (401, 459), to their halgne ham (413). Hell is the witehus (626), the carcern (488, 635), and heaven the eadigan ham (658).

A lesson on the nature of man's true home, and the means by which he can attain it follows the Harrowing of Hell. Christ's redeeming blood is very appropriately termed the fulwihtes bæð (544) since it was through this bath that mankind was released from the fiery fetters of the house of torments, just as the waters of the Flood and the Red Sea released those fast in Truth from the enemies of God.

The scop records a precise summary of the exile motif as it is depicted in the first two parts of Christ and Satan, and in the Caedmonian poetry generally:

> Forþon men sceolon mæla gehwylce
> secgan drihtne þanc dædum and weorcum,
> þæs ðe he us of hæftum ham gelædde
> up to eðle, þær we agan sceolon
> drihtnes domas,
> and we in wynnum wunian moton. (549ff.)

The image of the seafarer as the man temporarily exiled from his heavenly home is not only present in the Caedmonian poetry, but continues to appear in Cynewulfian and approximately contemporary Cynewulfian poems. At the end of Christ II, for example (a poem attributed to Cynewulf on acrostic evidence), appears the famous passage:

> Nu is þon gelicost swa we on laguflode
> ofer cald wæter ceolum liðan
> geond sidne sæ, sundhengestum,
> flodwudu fergen, Is þæt frecne stream
> yða ofermæta þe we her on lacað
> geond þas wacan woruld, windge holmas
> ofer deop gelad. Wæs se drohtað strong
> Ærþon we to londe geliden hæfdon
> ofer hreone hrycg. þa us help bicwom,
> þæt us to hælo hyþe gelædde,
> godes gæstsunu, ond us giefe sealde
> þæt we oncnawan magun ofer ceoles bord
> hwær we sælan sceolon sundhengestas,
> ealde ýðmearas, ancrum fæste. (850ff.)

One would like to join Kissack in his praise of the passage as "an unusually imaginative simile",[15] but such praise is misdirected. The comparison of the sea

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[15] "The Sea in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry", 376.

to man's life and his return to the heavenly kingdom as a sea-journey is far from original; it is highly traditional. Indeed, the clever weaving of the sea-steed concept so appropriately throughout the passage is a fine touch of poetic imagination, but it too is common to Elene's sea-crossing and to the description in Whale. What is noteworthy about the passage is that it concludes a poem of Christ's Ascension by reminding man of his Judgement and by warning(804ff.) him that those who long ago lived for earthly pleasure perished in the Deluge. Man must live a good life; godes gæstsunu will guide him safely over the stormy seas to the heavenly home. The final three lines are, therefore, a masterful summary of the theme and image:

> Utan us to þære hyðe hyte staþelian,
> ða us gerymde rodera waldend,
> halge on heahþu, þa he heofonum astag.

The significance Cynewulf here gives to the sea is much the same as that implicit in Adam's speech (Gen. 828ff.) discussed above (pp. 27f.), and is generally similar to the function of the sea in the Noah episode of Genesis and the seafaring imagery used by the Exodus poet; the image also looks ahead to at least Whale, The Seafarer, The Wanderer, and Andreas.[16]

The theme of exile runs throughout Christ I.

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[16] In Christ there are the usual terms for heaven: ecan ham (305), staþelan ham (350); hell is the witehus (1535), deaðsele (1536), dreamleas hus (1627). There are other familiar phrases at vv. 31f., 622, 1639.

Recognizing the joyful mood natural to the Advent antiphons which constitute Christ I, S. B. Greenfield adds:

> But a minor theme runs through the poem, a theme reflecting the Christian tradition of man's life as a spiritual exile from Heaven, Eden, and the natural bond with his Creator. And it is this theme which harmonizes the separate lyrics of the poem; for it provides . . . a commentary on the necessity for and meaning of Christ's Incarnation.[17]

The image of the sea plays no major role in Christ I and does not enter into Greenfield's argument, but the curious compound sundbuend (73, 221) is surely no accidental addition. The two phrases sundbuend secgan hyrdon (73) and þe þæt asecgan mæge sundbuendum (221) bear a general conceptual equivalence to eorðbuend ealle cuþan (422) so that the sea-dwellers and the earth-dwellers are in fact identical. In each case the author is singing the praises of the coming of the Redeemer and the virgin birth, and the word sundbuend with its implicit seafaring motif fits well into the over-all theme of exile.

One further note of interest. The hell-dwellers are given the appropriate appellation wræcmæcgas (363), a designation which appears in Juliana (260) and frequently throughout Guthlac (A: 129, 231, 263, 296, 558; B: none) and definitely connotes the idea of 'exile' as is testified

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17 "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in Christ I", Philological Quarterly, XXXII (1953), 321.

by its proximity to such phrases as:

> Ne motun hi on eorþan eardes brucan,
> ne hy lyft swefeð in leoma rǽstum,
> ac hy hleolease hama þoliað . . . .
> (Glc. 220ff.)

The demonic exiles find a meaningful contrast in Guthlac who has intentionally exiled himself from the earthly community so that he may attain his blissful home where human wandering finds its term.

The contested[18] and significant passage with which Krapp begins Guthlac fits well into the theme of exile which predominates Guthlac A:

> "Nu þu most feran þider þu fundadest
> longe ond gelome. Ic þec lǽdan sceal.
> Wegas þe sindon weþe, ond wuldres lecht
> torht ontyned. Eart nu tidfara
> to þam halgan ham." (6ff.)

Yet the verses echo the theme of the conclusion of Christ III and especially such lines as Þæt is se eþel þe no geendad weorþeð. (1639)

The concept of life as a journey recurs throughout Andreas. We are told of Andrew that leode lǽrde on lifes weg (170; cf. Glc. 99f.) when he is instructed to go to the aid of Matthew and of the Mermedonians. Having effected the conversion of these sylfǽtan (175), Andrew begins to teach them on geleafan weg (1680; cf. FAp. 316f.) as

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[18] Some would conclude Christ III with vv. 1-29 with which Krapp begins Guthlac A. See Records III, xxviii.

he guides them to þem halgan ham (1683). The idea of our home in heaven, a concept quite familiar by now, is recurrent in the poem (104, 227ff., 978) and it is difficult to avoid the associative response of man as a pilgrim as envisioned in Hebrews 13: 14, 11: 13-16.[19] The soul too makes its final journey; the wælgræddige (135) Mermedonians

> . . . . . æfter swyltcwale
> Feorh ne bemurndan,
> hu þæs gastes siðð
> geseted wurde. (154ff.)

The wanderer, the lordless man who has deserted his Drihten, is again given a specifically Christian context (405ff.). Such a person is explicitly refused entrance into that home where næs þær ænigum gewinn (888)

> ". . . þam biðð wræcsiðð witod, wite geopenad,
> þe þara gefeana sceal fremde weorðan,
> hean hwearfian, þonne heonon gangaþ."
> (889ff.; cf. 1702ff.)

Satan torments Andrew by calling him wræcsiðð (1358), but Andrew counterattacks by pointing out that since Satan's

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[19] For biblical reference to the pilgrimage motif see G. V. Smithers, "The Meaning of The Seafarer and The Wanderer", Medium Aevum, XXVIII (1959), 1.

The contrasting levels of the driht add to the idea of the heavenly home. Satan, who is clearly the antagonist, is called morþres brytta (1170) and his followers deofles þegnas (43); God is lifes brytta (822) and his followers þegnas þæs þe þrym ahof (344). This is, of course, an heroic parody and it is a recurrent image both in Andreas and throughout a large body of Anglo-Saxon poetry. See pp. 34f. and p. 37 n. 16. See also Charles W. Kennedy, The Caedmon Poems (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1916), pp. xxviif.

feud with God it is he who perpetually

> in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne,
> syððan ðu forhogedes heofoncyninges word.
> Þær wæs yfles or, ende næfre
> þines wræces weorðeð. (1380ff.)

The good Christian is a stranger in a foreign land; Andrew is ellþeodigne, an ne forlæte (1454).

The sea-trip and the storm are quantitatively so important in Andreas that either they must be of major significance, or the poem is simply a patch-work. The captain of the bark, Christ,[20] agrees to guide the men across the seas only if Andrew and his followers are in fact living by the word of Christ:

> "Gif ge syndon þegnas þæs þe þrym ahof
> ofer middangeard, swa ge men secgaþ,
> ond ge geheoldon þæt eow se halga bead,
> þonne ic eow mid gefean ferian wille
> ofer brimstreamas, swa ge benan sint." (344ff.)

The symbolic function of the sea here is reminiscent of Guthlac 6ff. and Christ 850ff. where the application

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[20] It is such circumstances as these which give plausibility to Smithers' likening the boat to the soul in exegetical interpretations; cf. op. cit., (1959), 2, 5. The ship is also frequently a symbol of the Church as seen in Luke 5: 1-11. Cf. Huppé, p. 169; James Cross, "On the Allegory in The Seafarer - Illustrative Notes", Medium Aevum, XXVIII (1959), 106. Boccaccio on Poetry, Charles G. Osgood, trans. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), p. 71 (XIV, xiv of Genealogia Deorum Gentilium): "Likewise our most venerable mother the Church is prefigured in the sacred books, sometimes . . . as a chariot, as a ship, or an ark . . . ."

Ellis, pp. 25ff. points out that in Scandinavian tradition the ship was often a symbol of the sun, had fertility and rebirth connections, and was believed to carry the dead into another life with the god of the sun.

is universal and the sea is the sea of life on which he who lives by the Christian precept will be given safe passage on the trip to his halgan ham.[21] The conclusion of the sea journey with a trip through the heavens and the guidance of angels substantiates this view. A homily on the joys of heaven follows and the often-echoed conviction that

> manna ænigne Flodwylm ne mæg
> lungre gelettan . . . . ofer meotudes est (516ff.)[22]

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[21] Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 243 compares Andreas 360ff. and Beowulf 38ff. concerning the setting sail and concludes that Andreas is "a rather inferior imitation of Beowulf [sic]. Why should the ship of the Lord, ready to take the apostles on board for their mission to the foreign country, be loaded with treasures?" He should add that the verses are more curious after Andrew's insistence that he has no worldly treasures. The lines echo similar verses concerning Noah:

> forþon he gelædde ofer lagustreamas
> maðmhorda mæst, mine gefræge. (Exo. 367f.)

Obviously, in neither Andreas nor Exodus is the maðmhord intended to be taken literally, but it is a term whose familiarity intensifies for the Anglo-Saxon the preciousness of the ship's cargo. The same might be said for the verses referring to Scyld, though they also carry a literal application.

Implicit in Schaar's statement above is the dependence of Andreas upon Beowulf. For a concise history of the problem and a dissenting opinion see L. J. Peters, "The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf", Publications of the Modern Language Association, LXVI (1951), 844-863.

[22] The idea is echoed in:

> heaðoliðendum God eaðe mæg
> Forþan ic eow to soðe helpe gefremman. (425f.)
> þæt næfre forlæteð secgan wille,
> eorl on eorðan, lifgende god
> gif his ellen deah. (458ff.)

Cf. vv. 907ff. and 1151ff.

As if to test Gif ge syndon þegnas þæs brym ahof the sea immediately begins to surge and the Lord tells His angels to minister to Andrew and his men:

ece Almihtig,	heht his engel gan,
mærne magupegn,	ond mete syllan,
frefran feasceafte	ofer flodes wylm,
þæt hie þe eaðe mihton	ofer yða gebring
drohtaþ adreogan.	(365ff.)

God's frefran is always available for the Christian buffeted by the seas of life. But when

	Wæteregesa stod
. . . . .	þegnas wurdon
acolmode.	(375ff.)

and only Andrew faithfully enjoyed the Divine aid. The entire incident is proof that heaven's Lord will provide and hearkens back to the Sea-Captain's warning (311ff.) that man cannot face the troubled seas without bread and drink, a warning to which Andrew had replied (337) that he had been promised aid on his journey as are all those who carry out Divine requests.[23]

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[23] For a similar idea see Guthlac 273ff.

The incident, like much of the storm scene, is biblical in tone. C. W. Kennedy, The Earliest English Poetry (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 271 suggests a dependence on Matthew 10: 5-15, but see also John 4: 34 (Douay): "My food is to do the will of him who sent me, to accomplish his work." The mention of bread and drink is frequent in Andreas. The heofonlicne hlaf (389) to which Andrew refers is the Old Testament manna from heaven and the New Testament Christ. The Mermedonians have neither bread nor water (21ff.), but literally eat flesh and drink blood. Besides making animals of them (as sensualists), this also recalls the Old Testament prohibition in a poem which has many an Old Testament echo (see pp. 70ff.). The Mermedonians have no knowledge of the biblical promise to which Andrew apparently alludes: "My flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed" John 6: 56 (Douay). Cf. John 6: 35-40, 48-52, 54-59; Matthew 26: 26-29; Mark 14: 22-24; Luke 22: 19f.; 1 Cor. 11: 23-27, 10: 16.

The conclusion of the trial by water is stated in universal terms which equate land and sea by insisting that God will protect all men on earth:

> Forþan ic eow to soðe secgan wille,
> þæt nænre forlæteð lifgende god
> eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen deah.
> (458ff.; italics mine)

Andrew has proven himself þegn þeodenhold (384) -- even the troubled seas recognize a man of God and are pacified (526ff.) -- but these same disturbed waters reflect the doubt in the minds of Andrew's troops:

> Grund is onhrered,
> deope gedrefed, duguð is geswenced,
> modigra mægen myclum gebysgod. (393ff.)

When the Captain suggests that they desert Andrew for the security of the shore, the disciples reply in heroic but substantially Christian terms, terms which again draw a clear parallel between the heavenly and earthly driht:

> Hwider hweorfaþ we hlafordlease,
> geomormode, gode onfeorme,
> synnum wunde, gif we swicaþ þe? (405ff.)

Curiously, the men answer the Captain's suggestion by saying swicaþ þe, suggesting that they would be deserting not just Andrew, but also the Helmsman.

What follows is an echo of the terms for a safe voyage:

> Gif ðu þegn sie þrymsittendes,
> wuldorcyninges . . . . (417f.; cf. 344ff.)

The Captain's words again assume an air of universality:

ofer fealuwne flod;
mægas on mode.

Lang is þes siðfæt
frefra þine
(420ff.)

Andrew's plea for faith recounts past Providence and foreshadows his calming of the seas as a follower of Christ (433ff.) and assures the men that the living God will care for men on this earth if their courage is good. Content in their strengthened belief, the crisis past, the willgedryht (914) pass into a peaceful slumber and, sea-weary, enjoy a heavenly vision.

Andrew is now encouraged to discuss Christ's work on earth because the Helmsman has expressed his enjoyment in hearing the stories of a man who has liberated souls (634ff.) so that

sohton siðfromo

Gastas hweorfon,
swegles dreamas . . . .
(640f.)

Andrew is admonished to follow Christ's example (971), so that much of what is said here foreshadows Andrew's work among the Mermedonians. But, poetic functions aside, the obvious didacticism of the passage might cause Cross or Smithers here to argue that the boat is representative of the Church of Christ, and the scene reminiscent of Luke 5: 3ff. where Christ preaches from a boat.[24]

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[24] See p. 41 n. 20.

Finally, Andrew also grows sea-weary and Heaven's King keeps His promise, as we are assured He always does (1435ff.):

> Da geladan het lifes brytta
> ofer yða gebrac englas sine,
> fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære
> leofne mid lissum ofer lagufæsten,
> oðþæt sæwerige slæp ofereode.
> þurh lyftegelac on land becwom
> to þære ceastre . . . . (822ff.)

The vision of heaven and the arrival at Mermedonia satisfy poetically both the literal and symbolic function of the sea. Furthermore, the verse fæðmum ferigean on fæder wære is an echo of similar phrases which announce the deaths of Scyld and Beowulf (Ewf. 27, 3109). Indeed, the phrase carries connotations of death and redemption as in The Death of Edward:[25]

> Her Eadward kingc, Engla hlaford,
> sende sobfæste sawle to Criste
> on godes wæra . . . (1ff.),

or Guthlac (690, 746; cf. 781f. and 1305ff.) and Menologium[25] his gast ageaf on godes wære (217; cf. 39).

The image of the seafarer in Andreas, therefore, typically represents the journey of the Christian on the sea of life in search of his heavenly home. The imagery is fairly standard and through its pattern of contrasts

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[25] Verse references to The Death of Edward and Menologium are taken from Records VI.

leads directly to the deluge and Andrew's final trip over the back of the sea.[26]

I. L. Gordon reasons that since the allegory in The Whale, Panther and Phoenix is "carefully expounded", if there were a deeper meaning in The Wanderer or The Seafarer it too would be clearly stated.[27] Yet, the allegory of Whale, for example, is so superficial that the poet need hardly have "expounded" it even for the twentieth-century audience. The image of the seafarer as mankind wandering on the sea of life is familiar enough to need no explication, and the word deaðsele (30) (cf. Chr. 1536, Glc. 1075, and grafhus XSt. 707) evokes only one mental response, so that the commonplace situating of the hall in the welling depths of the sea (46) only verifies the hall-hell identification.[28] Even such a phrase as grund

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[26] The pattern of contrasts is typical of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Klaeber makes the point concerning Beowulf, p. lxii; mention of such contrasts was previously made concerning the structure of Exodus (pp. 33f.), Genesis (pp. 26f.), and of the tripartite driht (pp. 34f., p. 40 n. 19). In Andreas, verbal echoes contrast God and Satan (eg. p. 40 n. 19), compare Christ and Andrew (pp. 72f.) and demonstrate the retributive nature of the deluge (pp. 69f.).

The same balanced structure can be found in Whale, The Wanderer and The Seafarer.

[27] I. L. Gordon, "Traditional Themes in The Wanderer and The Seafarer", Review of English Studies, New Series V (1954), 12.

[28] For examples see pp. 79ff.

geseceð (29) echoes Satan's familiar trip into the well-known jaws of hell (cf. Gen. 302, 346).

The words for ship are an integral part of the sea-of-life motif in Whale. With one exception (scipu, 31) these words compare the craft to a sea-steed: heahstefn scipu (13), sæmearas (15), yðmearas (49). The appropriateness of the specific term lies in the fact that in Scandinavian tradition the trip to the halls of the dead could be made over water by boat, or over land by horse.[29] Evidence of such a Scandinavian influence in Whale can be seen in the word heolophelme (45) which is also used by the Genesis (B) poet (444) in a description of the Tempter and is apparently a relic from pagan Teutonic mythology.[30]

The ancient concepts in Whale give added significance to the word hwælweg. Smithers' argument for the retention of wælweg in The Seafarer (v. 63)[31] is not entirely necessary

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[29] Balder's ship burial and the journey of his mother to Valhalla provide the most convenient example. See Ellis, The Road to Hel, chapter 1. The image of the ship as sea-horse is given extended use in Christ II 850ff. where it might convey the same idea as in Whale, and Elene 225ff. where it does not.

[30] C. W. Kennedy, The Caedmon Poems, discusses the Germanic origin of the word, p. xxx.

[31] Ibid., (1957), 137f. In his appendix (1959), 99 Smithers points out that the retention is not essential to his argument, though he remains convinced that wælweg is the correct word.

since the connotation of hwælweg when used symbolically approaches the denotation Smithers gives to wælweg. I have already suggested in connection with Andreas (p. 17) the value of hwælweg as the demonic snares facing man on the sea of life.[32]

Whale, like The Seafarer and The Wanderer, concludes by recalling the transitory nature of this life and warns that man must live according to his Drihten's will if he wishes to secure the joys of heaven.

The present study has been leading relentlessly towards a consideration of The Seafarer and The Wanderer, two poems in which a large number of the images and concepts already examined are repeated. As demonstrations of the difference of scholarly opinion concerning these two poems there is an article by I. L. Gordon[33] written in 1954 which suggests that we approach the poems strictly according to their elegiac genre, and there is an earlier article by B. J. Timmer[34] which insists that the term 'elegy' is ill-

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[32] Hronrad is literally applied at Bwf. 10 and makes best sense as 'the expanse of the ocean'. See Brady's "The Synonyms for 'Sea' in Beowulf", p. 556.

[33] "Traditional Themes in The Wanderer and The Seafarer".

[34] "The Elegiac Mood in Old English Poetry", English Studies, XXIV (1942), 33-44.

applied to The Seafarer and The Wanderer which are better termed "religious didactic lyrics".[35]

Since Lawrence's refutation of the old salt and aspiring sailor theory of The Seafarer, critical opinion interpreting the poem has varied considerably.[36] Miss Whitelock's "literal interpretation" of the Seafarer as a voluntary exile who has abandoned earthly pleasures for the lasting joys of heaven[37] accounts for the traditional imagery upon which The Seafarer draws, and it does view the poem as a unit. Although we need not, with Smithers, insist that the "perigrinus of real life is probably to be ruled out even in a limited secondary way",[38] we can see in the poem a more universal, symbolic meaning. Moreover, those who would investigate the lyrical, realistic detail of the lines and conclude from their findings that The Seafarer contains only its surface meaning strive under the curious contradiction whereby they praise the author's skill as a lyrical poet and

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[35] P. 37.

[36] The best summary of this opinion appears in I. L. Gordon, The Seafarer (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 1ff.

[37] "The Interpretation of The Seafarer", The Early Cultures of North-West Europe, Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 261-272.

[38] Ibid., (1957), 151.

deny his ability to unify his work.[39]

We must agree with Smithers that the terms of exile which appear in The Seafarer are essentially Christian[40] and not merely heroic. Furthermore, the poem is conventionally structured on a pattern of contrasts (see p. 27 n. 26) so that the Seafarer's sorgied is no more than a thematic exemplum. As the poem opens, the Seafarer is bemoaning, in traditional elegiac terminology, the hardships one must face on the sea (of life); stressing his lonely suffering he claims that he has been journeying on wræcan lastum (15). He insists that he lives winemægum bidroren (16) and as proof of his loneliness he claims the waves and the sea birds as his only companions; furthermore, his desire is not in the journey, but in the distant land

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[39] Margaret E. Goldsmith, "The Seafarer and the Birds", Review of English Studies, New Series V (1954), 226 remarks that "if there are orthological unlikelihoods . . . the theory that the sea scenes are the product of imaginative art and not of recollected experience gains much weight, and the idea of allegorical intent becomes less far-fetched." Surely "imaginative art" and "recollected experience" need not be mutually exclusive; the proof that the interest in the birds is first-hand knowledge does not render allegorical interpretation impossible, or even unlikely. Besides, vv. 64ff. are hardly "recollected experience".

[40] Ibid., (1957), 147.

to which he is sailing.[41] Just as the exilic terms (15f.) recall Adam's exile (Gen. 930), the Seafarer's buffetings by the cold echo Adam's anticipated trials as an exile from Paradise (Gen. 805ff.). The tribulations are representative rather than specific, a fact demonstrated in The Seafarer by the Seafarer's eagerness to set out with the arrival of spring, implying that he had not faced the actual onslaught of winter at sea at all. Yet, if he sets out upon the wræclastas (57) as a voluntary exile in this life his complaint is hardly to be taken literally since his hardships are self-imposed.

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[41] Solitary journeys are invariably framed in exilic terms; see The Husband's Message (41) with the inclusion of ana as suggested in the notes to Records III, p. 363; and the conclusion of Guthlac B.

The explicit philosophy of the poet and the Seafarer's disinterest in the actual seafaring are strikingly consistent with Augustine's On Christian Doctrine, I, iv, 4: "To enjoy something is to cling to it with love for its own sake. To use something, however, is to employ it in obtaining that which you love, provided that it is worthy of love. For an illicit use should be called rather a waste or an abuse. Suppose we were wanderers who could not live in blessedness except at home, miserable in our wandering and desiring to end it and return to our native country. We would need vehicles for land and sea which could be used to help us to reach our homeland, which is to be enjoyed. But if the amenities of the journey and the motion of the vehicles itself delighted us, and we were led to enjoy those things which we should use, we should not wish to end our journey quickly, and, entangled in a perverse sweetness, we should be alienated from our country, whose sweetness would make us blessed. Thus in this mortal life, wandering from God, if we wish to return to our native country where we can be blessed we should use this world and not enjoy it, so that the 'invisible things' of God 'being understood by the things that are made' may be seen, that is, so that by means of corporal and temporal things we may comprehend the eternal and spiritual." D. W. Robertson, Jr., trans. (Bobbs-Merrill: New York, 1958), pp. 9f.

Logical inconsistencies suggest a deeper significance, so that the desire

elþeodigra þæt ic feor heonan
eard gesece. (37f.)

recalls Scyld's, Grendel's, Beowulf's, and Cynewulf's voyages after death,[42] and the longunge (47) which the Seafarer feels to seek the distant land I think Smithers and others[43] correctly conclude must be his heavenly home, the land across the sea wherein merely earthly social pleasures are of no importance. Such a conviction is upheld by the play on the word drihten which follows (vv. 41-43). Greenfield establishes the parallel between the heavenly and earthly driht and the constant play on words by pointing out the dual uses of dreamas (65, 80, 86), blæd (79, 88), and dugudum[44] (80, 86).

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[42] See pp. 89ff. The phrase feor heonan is echoed in concept at vv. 52, 60. The distance of the trip between earth and heaven, earth and hell, heaven and hell is similarly expressed so often that it would be tedious to recount each incident; the phrase does not always suggest such a trip but the exceptions are comparatively few.

[43] For further discussion see Gordon, The Seafarer, p. 9.

[44] Stanley B. Greenfield, "Attitudes and Values in The Seafarer", Studies in Philology, LI (1954), 19.

That the dual meaning of drihten is intentional is obvious when one relates the trepidation of

> þæt he a his sæfore scerge næbbe,
> to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille. (42f.)

to

> Dol bið se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ; cymeð him se deað unbringed. (106)

When the Seafarer begins to explain the significance of vv. 1-64 he is explicit in his rejection of

> lǽne on londe. . . . þis deade lif, (65f.)

His reason is equally explicit:

> þæt him eorðwelan Ic gelyfe no
> ece stondað. . . . . (66f.)

His soul is eager to set out to sea (50f.); wise in the temporal nature of the world he wishes finally to reject it and to begin the journey to the true home of which he speaks (117), secure in the hope that he has fought the good fight against the forces of evil ær he on weg scyle (74).

The life at sea provides a clear contrast to the easy lives of pleasure pursued by the inhabitants of the cities. The specifically Christian conviction that

> we þonne eac tilien, þæt we to moten
> in þa ecan eadignesse (119f.)

echoes the earlier sentiment that

> þe þa wrǽclastas sume dreogað
> widost lecgað (56f.)

a phrase which recalls all the hardships of the life at sea.

If one wished to condemn the life of the city he could hardly select a better phrase than wlonc ond wingal (29). In the former word we have the sin which exiled Satan from the heavenly company,[45] and in the latter the excess to which men are liable if they live only for the earthly driht and its purely temporal pleasures.

A reading of The Seafarer brings two verses of The Fates of the Apostles to my mind. Contemplating death with an anticipation similar to the Seafarer's and the Wanderer's when facing their journey Cynewulf comments:

eardwic uncuð, þonne ic sceal langne ham,
ana gesecan . . . . (92f.)

The journey man takes over the trying seas of life is made alone, and at its end comes the final journey to an unknown land, to the eternal home, a journey about which each man must feel the gnawing strain of anticipation.

Although The Wanderer follows much the same structural and thematic pattern, there is a greater hesitancy on the part of critics to permit a symbolic reading of the poem. S. B. Greenfield voices the thoughts of many when he

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[45] Cf. XSt. 50, Gen. 328. For a distinction between the 'legitimate' pride of Beowulf and the 'illegitimate' pride of Lucifer see R. E. Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry", Review of English Studies, New Series IV (1953), 6f. The distinction is not explicit in The Seafarer as it is in Exodus where the Egyptians are godes andsacan (15, 503) and hence put their trust in themselves alone (cf. XSt. 684f.).

concludes that "This Old English elegy is, in short, a poem that strikes a very responsive chord in our modern ears, without the help of Patristic exegetical commentary."[46] Yet, the poem cannot be taken literally as the plaint of an exile, for unless the Christian exilic theme be introduced no structural unity is possible in a poem whose verbal parallels link the initial exemplum with its Christian comment; moreover, it is difficult to dissociate the meaning of many phrases from their apparently common Christian context: eðle bidæled (20) recalls Genesis 930, Genesis 63, Christ 32, Christ and Satan 121 all of which denote the sorrow of separation from the Divine company; sinces bryttan (25) calls to mind and contrasts the very common lifes bryttan, separation from Whom is the only cause for true sorrow; wineleas guma (45) echoes Gen. 928, 1051 to emphasize that only he who is exiled from his heavenly home is rices leas (Gen. 372). Indeed, the tripartite driht is so frequent in Old English poetry, as we have seen, that mention of one level in a Christian poem automatically contrasts and/or associates it with the others.

As part of this balanced pattern the opening verse

Oft him anhaga are gebideð

anticipates the final

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[46] A Critical History of Old English Literature (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 219.

Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,
frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo
fæstnung stondeð. (114f.)[47]

If one renders gebideð as 'experiences', the Wanderer speaks as snottor vv. 1-5 and reflectively as eardstapa vv. 6-57; as a result, the movement from eardstapa to snottor[48] sets off the exemplum and consequently heightens the Christian implications of wandering since the explication stresses the decay of the earthly driht and the perpetuity of the heavenly. If one seeks only his sinces bryttan (25), then sorrow and sleepless nights are his because the kingdom of man is doomed to perish (39ff., 58ff.). The hardships of earthly existence are given symbolic expression in the cold blasts of winter, as they were in The Seafarer and in Genesis, so that the Anglo-Saxon is presented with a vivid reminder that all is hardship on the earthly kingdom (106), care which is each time renewed for him whose soul must set out upon the trying seas (of life) (55f.). So the Wanderer, even as snottor, must follow the wræclastas (5)

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[47] The perception is Bernard Huppé's, "The Wanderer: Theme and Structure", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XLII (1943), 523, though the significance he gives to this parallel -- indeed, most of his article -- is challenged by S. B. Greenfield, "The Wanderer: A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, L (1951), 465 wherein he translates gebideð as 'experiences' rather than 'seeks'.

[48] Greenfield, op. cit., 463f.

eðle bidæled, just as the Seafarer must (Sfr. 57), and we are reminded by these familiar paths that we hycgan hwær we hamæ agen (Sfr. 117). The lesson here, as in the Caedmonian poems, much of Cynewulf, and where ever the exile-seafaring motif is given a Christian context is that at the end of the earthly sojourn and the tempestuous life of the sæfæst there awaits the heofonum hæm.

IV

THE SEA AS RETRIBUTIVE AGENT

Throughout Old English poetry the sea responds as an agent of retribution operating at God's command. It swallows those fettered in sin, speeds those safely who are secure in the way of truth, and in its bowels it confines those who would feud with God.

Taken by itself, extricated from the context of Anglo-Saxon England and Old English poetic records, Adam's speech of repentance sounds peculiarly naive:

> "Gif ic waldendes willan cuðe,
> hwæt ic his to hearmsceare habban sceolde,
> ne gesawe þu no sniomor, þeah me on sæ wadan
> hete heofones god heonone nu þa,
> on flod faran, nære he firnum þæs deop,
> merestream þæs micel, þæt his o min mod getweode,
> ac ic to þam grunde genge, gif ic godes meahte
> willan gewyrcean. Nis me on worulde niod
> æniges þegnscipes, nu ic mines þeodnes hafa
> hyldo forworhte, þæt ic hie habban ne mæg.
> (Gen. 828ff.)

Actually, the scop knew that such a speech would demonstrate vividly Adam's sincere contrition and in order to include it the poet was willing to abandon logical consistency and radically to depart from the biblical Genesis.[1] Kennedy's

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[1] Perhaps there is an association to be made with the apochryphal legend of the self-imposed punishment whereby

translation misses the point by rendering on sæ wadan as "walk upon the sea", thereby making a game of Adam's atonement by promising the impossible; Gordon's translating of firnum as "men" sacrifices the obvious stress put upon the ocean's depth, partially strengthened by merestream bæs micel. Such depths are frequent in Old English poetry and almost invariably are synonymous with the halls of hell (see pp. 78ff.), but without exception any reference to the deop sæ carries ominous significance for the Anglo-Saxon seafarer. The terror which the Genesis B scop associates with such waters can easily be conjectured by Adam's concluding remark that life on earth means little to him now. In this preparedness to demonstrate his new-found obedience to his Lord, Adam rivals Guthlac's submission to the will of God. When he is cautioned by the demons who dwell

> niþer under næssas in þæt atule hus,
> necle grundas (Glc. 562f.),

Guthlac replies that he is ready to do even this if it is God's will (592ff.).

Adam's oath is ironically realized by his descendents when an angry Lord releases the willeburnan (Gen. 1373), streams

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Adam was to stand 47 days in the Jordan and Eve in the Tigris apparently to purge themselves of their guilt. See Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English", Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXI (1906), 834.

which provide destructive depths for the evil progeny of Cain and a regenerative bosom for the faithful Noah and his family. The offspring of Cain had become common symbols of depravity for the Anglo-Saxon -- the Lord called them minra feonda (Gen. 1259) -- so that their union with the beloved sons of Seth was monstrous in the eyes of God (1245ff.). Such folly was apparently incited by sensual promiscuity, or so the scop suggests:

> þær wifa wlite onwod grome,
> idesa ansien, and ece feond
> folcdriht wera, (1260ff.)

and so does the birth of the gigantmæcgas (1268).[2] So the Lord is initially moved to purge His creation of evil (1273ff.) and calls forth His egorstreamas

> hygeteonan wræc
> metod on monnum. (1380f.)

Yet, comparatively little emphasis is placed on the punishing

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[2] For patristic commentary see Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 166ff. and Francis Lee Utley, "The Flood Narrative in the Junius Manuscript and in Baltic Literature", p. 209. O. F. Emerson's article mentioned above gives a thorough, orderly presentation of the legends concerning Cain, though it does not provide extensive patristic comment.

Alexa Suelzer, The Pentateuch (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), pp. 31f. suggests that there is an historical argument with textual basis that the original sin may have been sexual. She connects the giants with mythological sources "to exemplify the ruthless advance of wickedness throughout the world." (pp. 34f.) For Emerson's discussion of the giants see pp. 888ff.; contrary to Sister Alexa he records that patristic thought considered that Eve left Eden as a virgin; but he also notes the belief that Cain was born through relations with Satan. (p. 932)

of the wicked; anxious to stress the justice and mercy of his God, the scop even alters the biblical source by permitting Noah to preach a final warning (1317ff.). Through the mercy of Providence, Noah is instructed concerning the impending deluge, given a blue-print of his ark, and has the doors locked behind him when he enters the sea-house.[3] The protection afforded Noah and his family is further expressed by such phrases as scipes bosme (1306) and lides bosme (1332, 1410), by referring to the ark as a hus (1303, 1321, 1364, 1442), and by creating the impression of seafarers on a lagusið (1486) to a new land rather than tormented refugees of a flood.

Although the sea is depicted with its typical bosme and the ravaging waves are given their conventional swiðe grap (1381) so that the scop notes

> wæglidendum   Þære ne moston
> hæste hrinon   wætres brogan
>   (1394ff.),

Niðwæs reðe (1383), Flod ealle wreah (1386), the seas are frequently robbed of their agency by se ðe wætrum weold (1377) and they never do achieve the personal, vital, raging autonomy they exercise in Exodus or Beowulf. Anne

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[3] Utley, p. 213 calls the closing of the doors a Divine blessing by which "he bestowed upon it [the ark] a primitive and anthropomorphic gift of mana or spirit power . . . ."

Treneer's conclusion concerning the Flood that "The metaphorical language gives constantly this impression of a living thing set free from restraint to raven at will"[4] is a fine comment on either Exodus or Beowulf but it is ill-applied to Genesis where such an impression is anything but constant.

Huppé's analysis of the Flood considers it to be a foreshadowing of the New Testament in which the Deluge symbolizes baptism, the ark represents the Church, and Noah prefigures Christ.[5] To document his thesis he offers detailed exegetical evidence but unhappily rallies little textual support. There is merit in his argument that "the effect of the poet's amplification of the biblical narrative is to suggest the underlying meaning that was assigned to the Flood in scriptural commentary",[6] but when he employs the technique even to explain the "symbolic" ravens

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[4] The Sea in English Literature from Beowulf to Donne, p. 27.

[5] Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 169ff. There is some textual evidence that the poet did centre his attention upon the ark (see pp. 14f. and n. 14) besides that offered by Huppé, but if the ark is to symbolize the Church it is because the audience makes the association from information outside the poem (as it may conceivably have done).

[6] Ibid., p. 171.

and doves[7] he sacrifices his tone of authority. Although it might be dismissed as natural elaboration for a sea-faring people who delighted in stories of ships and storms at sea, the amplification to which Huppé calls attention is also good pedagogical technique if it highlights important didactic concepts. Such intention is implicit in the Deluge in the scop's emphasis on the mercy of God (already discussed) and elsewhere throughout Genesis by the scop's conventional tendency to moralise (e.g. 297ff., 534ff., 723, 939). It is the poet's habit to formulate general conclusions from the sweep of the narrative, not to centre on detail; the audience and the critic are likely expected to do the same.

The poet does provide convincing textual evidence that the sea-trip is redemptive in nature and most likely to be viewed as a figure of baptism. He demonstrably establishes that Noah and his family are seafarers (1395, 1407, 1432, 1472, 1475, 1486) -- a familiar concept sure to call forth the associative response outlined in Chapter III -- a chosen people (1285ff.) enclosed safely within the ark (1363ff., 1391) with the blessing of God (1365) on their way to a new, purified land (1411f., 1492) and are subsequently heof . . . ahafen (1401). If the waters are

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[7] Ibid., pp. 174ff.

redemptive for Noah and his kin, they are also purgative in that they sweep minra feonda to the sea's depths; the typical swallowing of the evil into the watery deep is not explicit in Genesis as it is in Exodus, Andreas, Beowulf, Juliana and Judith, but the function of the sea-streams is unchanged.

During my examination of wylm I pointed out the similarity in symbolic use of fire and water in Old English poetry (see pp. 18f.). It is worth noting here the obvious thematic and narrative relation between the wægbrea (1490) and cwealmbrea (2509), the sweart water (1300, 1326, 1355, 1375, 1414) of the Flood and the sweartum lig (2507, 2543) of Sodom and Gomorrah; each consumes a forewarned people for wera synnum (1279, 2506).[8] The purgative-redemptive capacity of these two elements is recurrent throughout Old English poetry, indeed throughout the religious history of Eastern and Western civilizations.

In Exodus, the sea also, with God's help, reaches out to destroy the wicked and offers to free the soðfæst

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[8] Emerson, p. 921 reports the Church Fathers' equating of the Deluge with Sodom and Gomorrah.

The scop describes Isaac's bælfyr as þonne swearten lige (2858); so sweart carries no apparent redemptive significance and probably connotes only a sense of horror or doom.

from the bonds of evil. Traditional demonic phrases designate Faraones cyn not just as enemies of the Jews, but godes andsacan (15, 503); theirs is a moral failing, the fault of Lucifer (170, 204).[9] The scop, significantly, considered it sufficient explanation to summarize the meredeaþ (513) with one pregnant statement:

Hie wiþ god wunnon! (516)[10]

Even the conventional carrion prey recognize a doomed host, the

fæge ferhþlocan deade feþan, (266f.)[11]

and follow it with expectation (162ff.).

But the ravens are robbed of their feasting. The mysterious sægrundas (289), the life-giving grenne grund (312) over which the soþfæst have passed are no longer visible as the militant garsecg covers the ece staþulas (474) and þa mægenbreatas meredeaþ geswealh

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[9] See p. 55 n. 45.

[10] Each use of godes andsacan and wiþ god wunnon has demonic significance as it appears in The Junius Manuscript, The Vercelli Book and The Exeter Book; cf. godes andsacan: XSt. 190, 268, 279, 339, 717; Chr. 1593; Glc. 233; wiþ god wunnon: Gen. 77, 346, 490; XSt. 704; Chr. 1526.

[11] Kennedy objects to the description; see The Earliest English Poetry, pp. 180f.

(513).[12] The deluge becomes nacud nydboda (475), fah fedegast, se ðe feondum geneop (476), and as it often does wælfæðmum sweop (481). In the height of its fury (and somehow reminiscent of the miraculous sword in Grendel's den) the waves brandish their alde mece (495), strike down the protective sea-walls and provide the deaðdrepe (496) which opens the jaws of hell. Is it a wonder that such a warrior should bespatter the seas with blood![13] Finally, to make amply clear by whose power the Garsecg wedde (490)

> mid halige hand, þa se mihtiga sloh
> on werbeamas. heofonrices weard, (485ff.)

The virtuous are again provided with a safe passage, but the seafarers of Exodus never enter a boat. This hint that the poem means more than appears on the surface is explicitly verified in the conclusion when Moses assumes a New Testament position on the shore of the sea to

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[12] Cf. Gen. 2559 where the flames forswealh the sinful inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah. The word is used consistently to describe the entrance of the sinful into hell's-mouth. The evil of the Egyptians is enough to suggest that they are destined for the halls of hell. Hæðen wæs on cwealme / fæste gefeterod (469f.) is an echo so familiar of the bonds of hell prepared for the damned that it would be tedious to offer documentation.

[13] Klaeber, "Concerning the Relation Between Exodus and Beowulf", Modern Language Notes, XXXIII (1918), 220 concludes that Exodus influenced Beowulf and points out the similarity of the blood-crested water in passages depicting the Red Sea and the mere of Grendel. Kennedy, ibid., pp. 181ff. suggests a reverse influence and adjudges the bloody waters inappropriate.

preach to his followers. At this point the scop interposes to remind his audience that we are all seafarers voyaging to our eternal home (see pp. 32f.). Perhaps inspired by the poet's directive to exert one's banhuses weard (524) in order to determine how the Bible story applies to man, James Bright[14] long ago related the Exodus to the Holy Saturday liturgy to discover a more subtle carmen paschale than Caelius Sedulius had composed. Kennedy has whole-heartedly embraced Bright's interpretation and even added some liturgical detail.[15] There probably is no more commonplace association than the Red Sea and baptism. I Cor. 10: 1-4 (Douay) reads:

> For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, all were baptised in Moses, in the cloud and in the sea. And all ate the same spiritual food, all drank the same spiritual drink (for they drank from the spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ).

Greenfield records Aelfric's four-fold allegorical interpretation,[16] and in his Ecclesiastical History

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[14] "The Relation of the Caedmonian Exodus to the Liturgy", Modern Language Notes, XXVII (1912), 97-103.

[15] The Earliest English Poetry, pp. 177ff. The patristic interpretation and the Exodus scop as heir to the allegorical tradition are discussed by J. E. Cross and S. I. Tucker, "Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus", Neophilologus, XLIV (1960), 122-127.

[16] A Critical History of Old English Literature, p. 50.

(p. 316, V, 21) Bede refers to the symbolism of the Red Sea in a matter-of-fact way which suggests great familiarity. But even if one refuses to accept Wright's analysis, the text itself enjoins its audience to look for the sōðum wordum (522), the conventional phrasing depicts the purging of evil (see p. 66 n. 10 and p. 67 n. 12), and the poet tells us (530ff.) that the story represents the redemption of the sōðfæst. The waters symbolize purgation and redemption; their equation with the waters of baptism is inescapable.

Water is also of major significance in the closing scenes of Andreas. Huge columns, eald enta geweorc (1495), are ordered to spew forth hungry seas to wera cwealme (1507). There is much to suggest a retributive justice in the deluge. The flod yðum weoll (1546) recalls how merciless torture had caused Andrew's swat yðum weoll;[17] the Mermedonians are confined to þam fæstenne (1544) just as their victims had been (1043, 1068); and the murderous flod wæs on luste (1573) just as the Mermedonians had been morðres on luste (1140; cf. 1023). The flood is both purgative and redemptive. Many realize

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[17] VV. 1240, 1275, 1279f. Andrew was told that he was to follow in the steps of Christ, and that during his Golgotha wættre gelicoost / faran flode blod (953f.).

the error of their way; because of the waters they accept the soð meotud (1602) and view Andrew as an

> þeodum to helpe ar . . . . hider onsende (1604f.)

Only the wyrrestan (1592), þeh fell curen (1609), are swept to their deaths beneath the earth, forsweals (1590) in the same way that Satan later

> sið asette . . . . in helle ceafl (1703f.)

Schaar suggests that Andreas owes a verbal debt to Exodus[18] and that "the Andreas [sic] poet, perhaps unconsciously associates his motifs with similar ones in Genesis [sic]." The rush of the waves certainly recalls the flood of the biblical Genesis, also referred to in Beowulf. In fact, there is much to relate the Mermedonians to Grendel's kind, descendents of Cain's sensuous progeny, ultimately destroyed by a miraculous relic from the Deluge. All are people of the flesh, wælræse (135)[19] brutes who Rihtes ne gimdon (139),[20] hæleð hellfuse (51)[21] whose

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[18] Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, pp. 288ff.

[19] Cf. Bwf. 125: wælfylle. For the sensuality of Cain's tribe see p. 61 and p. 61 n. 2.

[20] Cf. Bwf. 144: wið rihte wan.

[21] Cf. Bwf. 852: hel onfeng.

city rises ymbe harne stan (841).[22] In the Latin original the water had been doubly terrifying since it was "so briny as to corrode the flesh of men."[23] The idea survives in Andreas only in the sealtne weg (1532) which carried the young to their death, though the original description was particularly appropriate for men who lived by the flesh.

I previously concluded that the waters of the Flood and of the Red Sea strongly suggested the baptismal motif; in Andreas it is explicit. The youths are recalled from the waters of death to receive living waters. By juxtaposing these two waters and immediately centring his attention on the baptism of the youths, the scop makes the contrast clear:

leoðolic ond gastlic,	Þa wæs eall eador
þurh flodes fær	þeah hie lungre ær
Onfengon fulwihte	feorh aleton.
wuldres wedde	ond freoðuwære,
mundbyrd meotudes.	witum aspedde,
	(1627ff.)

The word fulwiht appears four times in the poem, all within fourteen lines, 1630-1644.

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[22] Cf. ÆWf. 1415; see also ÆWf. 807, 2553, 2744. The demonic associations which shroud the harn stan are echoed in the windige weallas (843) reminiscent of the windsele of Christ and Satan 135, 319, 384. As part of the purifying effect of the deluge the city is finally called wederburg (1697).

[23] Schaar, p. 19.

The redemptive waters could hardly be more appropriate. By identifying Andrew with Moses the *Andreas* poet makes it clear that he visualises the crossing of the Red Sea as baptismal, and hence identifies Moses with Christ. Andrew, in turn, is Moses the redeemer and he is also Christ the Redeemer. As a Moses figure, Andrew calls forth water from the stone pillar (though this also identifies Andrew with Christ). Andrew also parts the water and walks through the pathway without wetting a shoe (1577ff.). Just as Andrew converts the Mermedonians, so biblical accounts record that Moses converted the Egyptians. As a Christian, hence one who lives in imitation of Christ, he repeats the actions of Christ reported within the poem. He calms an angry sea after recalling that Christ had done the same (450ff.); to convert the *morðre bewunden* (19, 772) he performs a miracle with a stone pillar just as Christ had done (712ff.). Christ had revived the *heahfæderes hrre* (791) to aid in the conversion of the wicked; similarly, Andrew gives life to the Mermedonian youths. He travels into a hostile land to preach in an explicit imitation of Christ (161-173) and subsequently is warned that by following Christ's example (970ff.) Andrew's blood will well just as his teacher's had done (950-970); as a result of the warning's inevitable fulfillment (1240, 1275, 1279f.) Andrew, having reminded his lord of Christ's *Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani*, utters his own plea for help (1401ff.). Satan compares

Andrew to Christ (1320ff.), and later calls him _galdcan_ (1359), an echo of the evil priest's accusation that Christ made use of _drycraeftum_ (765) and _scingelacum_ (766). If it is natural for the scop to give Christ-like qualities to Andrew, it is equally natural for him to give to the Mermedonians and their city the hellish qualities he does. In the releasing of the faithful from the _carcern_ of the _deofles bearas_ (43) the poet means to recall Christ's harrowing of hell, a logical association within a poem structured on Christian thematic parallels. The incident follows immediately upon Andrew's being told to act by Christ's example (970ff.) and its identification requires no stretch of the imagination since hell is frequently called a _carcern_ (_XSt._ 488, 635; _Chr._ 25, 735). Furthermore, in the harrowing of hell in _Christ and Satan_ Christ must also break open the doors of hell (465f.; _And._ 999ff.), and His appearance floods the prison with a holy light (466f.; _And._ 1017f.). The redemptive theme, again reminiscent of _Exodus_, is underlined by the leading of the liberated _wolcnum bebehte_ (1046: "under cover of a cloud"), and the

on gehyld godes — menigo laedan (_And._ 1044f.)

is conceptually identical to

fela pusenda, up to eðle. — forð gelaedan (_XSt._ 400f.)

Andrew redeems the Christians; then he proceeds to do the same for the pagans.

The final scene is an image of an earlier one. Andrew sets out to sea on a voyage destined to lead him to his paradisal home. His imminent beatitude is contrasted with Satan's friendless exile, so that the image of sea-travel here is unmistakable.

The flod image has various significations throughout Andreas. The crossing of the sea can symbolize the pilgrimage of life and the trip to one's eternal home; the Christian seafarer can be assured of a safe voyage if he lives by the Christian precept. Turbulent seas try the Christian so as to strengthen his faith in a provident Lord and a majestic God. The same waters can provide a sign for the non-Christian and can wash those fast in sin to the pit of hell. For the converted, there are the streams of peace and life, baptismal waters.

The Beowulf scop's use of actual sea creatures as antagonists is a major departure from Genesis, Exodus, or Andreas, though it does have a precedent in Whale. There are three incidents in which Beowulf faces the evil dwellers of the depths. His first 'boasting' speech does more than introduce Beowulf to the court of Hrothgar, or demonstrate Beowulf's strength and swimming ability. We begin here our acquaintance with the inhabitants of unstilled waters.[24]

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[24] The episode is brief and yðum (421) is the only word used for 'sea'; its alliterative association with yðde (421) gives it a destructive connotation.

There are *eotena cyn* (421), *niceras nihtes* (422), who *wean ahsodon* (423)[25] and Beowulf considers his conquest sufficient credentials for a victory over Grendel who is himself a creature of night, kin to giants and a dweller in a *wynleas wic* (821). The boast arouses Unferth and leads directly into the Breca episode.

Bonjour dismisses the Breca episode as youthful folly and regards the term *yðgewinne* as too aggressive for such an encounter.[26] But this was no child's play; the sea is, in fact, quite vicious: *geofon yþum weol* (515), *wado weallende* (546), *hreo wæron yþa* (548). Characteristically, the raging waters are occupied by *feondscaða* (554) and *laðgeteonan* (559). In the night battle which follows Beowulf kills *niceras nigene* (575), the seas are purged and *brimliðende / lade ne letton* (568f.). With the death of the evil monsters *brimu swaþredon* (570) and

Leoht eastan com,
beorht beacen Godes (569f.)

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[25] The significance of this phrase is magnified by its application to the *frofre ne wenan* (185) axiom which should still be fresh in the audience's memory and which destines such creatures to the bonds of hell. The concept is also familiar to audiences of *Andreas* (see p. 43).

[26] "The Sea Images in Beowulf", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LIV (1955), 114.

much as in the third episode.

When Beowulf visits the brimwylf, typically the

> brimwylm onfeng
> hilderince (1494f.)

and he has to face the færgripe flodes (1516). Only when he reaches the underwater dwelling, þær him nænig wæter wihte ne sceþede (1514). The sædeor (1510) who hinder his descent are reminiscent of the meredeor (558) of the Breca episode and are to be identified with the wildeor (1430) visible on the upper regions. With the death of Grendel's mother all of these creatures vanish, yðgebland [wæron] eal gefælsod (1620), lagu drusade (1630) and

> leoht inne stod,
> efne swa of hefene hadre scineð
> rodores candel. (1570ff.)

The niceras on the mere's surface[27] are described as yðgewinnes (1434), bitere ond gebolgne (1431), who on weg hruron (1430). They are nowhere designated specifically kin of Cain or of giants, but since they disappear with Grendel's mother, a kinship is here apparent. Their very habitation gives them an odor of evil. Finally, they are restless to make their sorhfulne sið (1429), on weg

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[27] The concept of the sea is used in its widest sense within this paper so that it is unnecessary for me to join the dispute as to the location of the mere, a controversy which W. Lawrence notes as early as 1912 in "The Haunted Mere in Beowulf", Publications of the Modern Language Association, XX (1912), 208-245.

hruron (1430), to follow the sælræde (1429). Where they are wandering is conjectural, but it seems logical that their destination will coincide with that of their drihten.

Grendel and his mother are descendants of Cain and antediluvian giants (99ff., 1258ff.).[28] Each is burdened with a distorted human body.[29] Grendel

> on weres wæstmum wræclastas træd,
> næfne he wæs mara þonne ænig man oðer.
> (1352f.)[30]

It is surely appropriate that the stroke which concludes this temporal exile and puts his hæþene sawle (852) to rest is the giganta geweorc (1562) which

> wæs mare ðorne ænig mon oðer
> to beadulace ætberan meshte . . . .
> (1560f.)

Grendel's mother is an idese onlicnes (1351), and her threat as a warrior is diminished because of her sex (1282f.).

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28 S. J. Crawford, "Grendel's Descent from Cain", Modern Language Review, XXIV (1929), 63 quotes an Irish source which regards these grotesque giants as descendants of Cham since the offspring of Seth and Cain were destroyed by the Flood.

29 For a discussion of the physical distortion resulting in the offspring of the sons of Seth and the daughters of Cain see Emerson, "Legends of Cain Especially in Old and Middle English", 884ff. Marie Padgett Hamilton, "The Religious Principle in Beowulf", Publications of the Modern Language Association, LXI (1946), 309-331 reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism concludes, pp. 113ff., that the association of Grendel and Cain is not to be taken literally.

30 Sawlberendra (1004) becomes synonymous with 'man' and as such designates human -- perhaps sub-human -- characteristics to Grendel and his mother.

They are half human and half demon, dwellers in a joyless abode, exiles from God and man. Since the very existence of Grendel's father is itself mysterious and a matter for speculation (1355), Grendel's lineage apparently ends with the killing of his mother. Similarly, Heorot and the surrounding waters are purified and life can proceed peacefully. Hrothgar's future problems are domestic.

Only in the first episode is there no specific effort to drag Beowulf to the sea's bottom where he is apparently to be devoured.[31] There is something ominous about the sea's floor; that the bottom of the mere has never been previously explored is stressed at least twice (1499ff., 1366ff.). Grendel's mother is the _grundwyrgenne_ (1518) and the trip to her hall takes _hwil dæges_ (1495). Grendel's name has been variously traced to O.N. _grindhill_ ('storm'), M.E. _gryndel_ ('angry'), and _grund_ as 'sea floor'.[32]

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[31] The eating of flesh perhaps recalls the sensuous kin of Cain (see p. 61 n. 2), or it might be related to the jaws of hell (see p. 70 re. _Andreas_ and p. 82 re. the dragon's mouth).

[32] Cf. Chambers, _Beowulf, An Introduction_, p. 309. The etymology of their names and their behaviour have suggested to Müllenhoff that Grendel and his mother are personifications of seasonal, elemental unrest. See Chambers, p. 46 and Klaeber's introduction to the third edition of _Beowulf_, pp. xxivf.

One should here recall the significance given to Adam's repentance discussed on pp. 59f.

The description mirrors the conventional descent into hell of *Whale* or *Genesis* (B) and adds an element of significant excitement for the Anglo-Saxon audience which must have made the connection automatically. In *Whale* the author notes that Leviathan

> grund geseceð,
> ond þonne in deaðsele drence bifæsteð
> . . . . Swa bið scinna þeaw . . . .
> (29f.)

There is much in *Genesis* (B) to parallel Lucifer's fall from heaven *under eorðan neoðan* (311) as *grund gesecean* (302); the long journey took *þreo niht and dagas* (307). Furthermore, the *forst fyrnum cald* (*Gen.* 316) winds are as natural to hell as the *hrinde bearwas* (*Bwf.* 1363; cf. *Chr.* 1545f.) are to Grendel's *deaþwic* (1275), and the *wyrse leoht* (*Gen.* 310) of hell is certainly repeated in the *niðsele* (1513) over which Grendel's mother rules.

The description of the area surrounding the mere stresses its barrenness, a detail which is in keeping with the Lord's curse upon Cain and his descendents (*Gen.* 1015ff.). Like the dragon's barrow (2553, 2744; cf. 887) Grendel's home is located by the *harne stan* (1415). It is apparently the *deaþwic* (1275), *wynleas wic* (821) which Grendel sought *under fenhleoðu* (820) and to which his mother escaped when she *to fenne gang* (1295), both fleeing for their lives. Her realm over which she has ruled some fifty years is at the sea floor (cf. 562ff.). Beowulf is

a *selegyst* (1545), and the place is a *niðsele* (1513), a *hrofsele* (1515) and a *recede* (1572). (The dragon's barrow is twice called an *eorðsele* (2410, 2515).)

It frequently happens in Old English poetry that a man's evil deeds drag him into the demonic depths, so that a fairly consistent image of hell beneath the waters lying under a rocky ness emerges. In the Blickling Homilies[33] it says of hell:

> þær ealle wætere niðergewitað, and he þær geseah ofer ðæm wætere sumne harne stan.

And so in *Judith* when Holofernes is decapitated in the height of his drunken lust:

> Læg se fula leap
> gesne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf
> under neowelne næs 7 ðær genyðerad wæs
> susle gesæled syððan æfre,
> wyrmum bewunden, witum gebunden,
> hearde gehæfted in hellebryne
> æfter hinsiðe. (111ff.)[34]

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[33] XVI, *To Sancte Michaheles Maessan*, EETS, Old Series 58, 63, 73, p. 209.
S. J. Crawford, "Grendel's Descent from Cain", XXIII (1928), 207 mentions Job 26: 5 as a biblical example of the underwater home of antediluvian giants: "Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis, et qui habitant cum eis."

[34] Verses quoted are taken from B. J. Timmer's edition, *Judith* (London: Methuen, 1961).
There are many similar references in Old English poetry:

> in þæt atule hus,
> niþer under næssas neole grundas. (*Glo.* 562f.)

> under neolum niðer næsse gehydde (*Ele.* 831)

The reference here is to the location of Christ's cross which has been hid through the *efforts of Satan*.
The description is frequent in *Christ and Satan*:

We have already discussed the aquatic deep in Genesis, Exodus, and Andreas; but it is in the Juliana scop's description of the demonic realm which awaits Eleusius and his evil band that we encounter a scene which most closely reflects similar depths in Beowulf.

ond feowere eac
þurh wæges wylm
heane mid hlaford,
hyhta lease
Ne þorftan þa þegnas
seo geneatscolu
to þam frumgare
witedra wenan,
ofer beorsetle
æpplede gold.

þær XXX wæs
feores onsohte
wigena cynnes,
hroþra bidæled,
helle sohton.
in þam þystran ham,
in þam neolan sorgfe,
feohgestealda
þæt hy in winsele
beagas þegon,
(678ff.)

The descent into the winsele beneath the sea and the joyless driht which holds court there surely recall the similar excursions and identical halls of the Breca episode (562ff.) and Beowulf's visit to Grendel's mere -- and the Juliana poet identifies this kingdom as hell.

On the strength of the evidence here presented one might argue that the hall which Grendel's mother guards is

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niðer under nessas
niðer under nessas
niðer under næssum;

in ðone deopan wælm
in ðone neowlan grund . . . . (XSt. 30f.)
in ðone neowlan grund. (XSt. 90)
grundas mænan,
(XSt. 133f.)

The phrase de profundo lacu from the Offertory in the Mass at the Burial Service likens hell to a lake. M. B. McNamee, "Beowulf - An Allegory of Salvation?", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LIX (1960), 190-207, reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, presents persuasive historical evidence for the depicting of hell as a lake which is "serpent-infested"; he includes an illumination from an eleventh century Psalter, (pp. 343ff.).

in fact hell;[35] perhaps the comment concerning Grendel that þær him hel onfeng (852) adds an element of conclusiveness to the assumption. But such a supposition makes a hell of the dragon's barrow too, with its grey stone,

> hlæw under hrusan holmwylme neh
> yðgewinne (2411f.),

with its waves of fire (2545f.), its eorðsele under eorðan (2415). What does this do to Sigemund's dragon? Clearly, the Bodley Homily places the dragon in hell devouring the damned, and the dragon is pictured as hell's-mouth in medieval drama.[36] Old English poetry is replete with references to the dragons of hell.[37] In Whale,

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35 Of those who would literally identify Grendel's mere with hell are: McNamee, op. cit.; Allen Cabaniss, "Beowulf and the Liturgy", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LIV (1955), 195-201 reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism in a rather unconvincing article which becomes suspect immediately by using Klaeber as an authority on the basis of a statement appearing in Klaeber's first edition but greatly modified in his third, an edition available five years before Cabaniss' article (compare Cabaniss' quotation p. 224 with Klaeber's retraction and modification, 3rd ed. pp. cxxf.); D. W. Robertson, Jr., "The Doctrine of Charity in Mediaeval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach Through Symbolism and Allegory", Speculum, XXVI (1951), reprinted in part in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism. Robertson finds the identification of the mere with hell all too obvious, p. 185.

36 Ellis, The Road to Hel, p. 190 n. 1.

37 E.g. ESt. 97, 102, 134f., 335f.; Ele. 765; Pnt. 55ff, 15f.; SnS. 26 (Records VI); though see T. M. Gang, "Approaches to Beowulf", Review of English Studies, New Series III (1952), 1-12 who argues that the dragon is a guardian by tradition and has no demonic connotation. The article is meant to

furthermore, there is the picture of hell as _edwylme_ (73), a description detailed here by the _fyr on flode_; Scandinavian tradition also surrounds Hel with a wall of fire.[38] The union of fire and water as punitive and purgative elements, agents associated with the underworld, is clear in _Judgement Day II_ (_Records VI_) in such verses as:

> Þæt reðe flod   ræsceet fyre
> and biterlice   bærnð ða earman saula,
> and heora heortan   horxlice wyrmas,
> synscyldigra,   ceorfað and slitað. (166ff.)

Mermedonia, it will be recalled, was circumscribed by similar fires during the deluge. But Mermedonia is no more hell than Grendel's earthly home is. Each is hellish, not hell. The souls of the damned must make a further trip into the jaws of the earth to reach the infernal regions, and the Mermedonians suffer from a Genesis-like flood because their sensuality associates them with antediluvian giants. A sword from the conflict with these same giants provides the coup de grâce in Beowulf not because the waters have the same biblical significance, but because the depths house creatures who do.[39]

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question the conclusions of Tolkien's "The Monsters and the Critics"; Gang has been answered by Bonjour, "Monsters Crouching and Critics Rampant: or the _Beowulf_ Dragon Debated", _Publications of the Modern Language Association_, LXVIII (1953), 304-312.

As late as _Le Morte Arthur_, vv. 3179ff., dragons occupy watery depths and are called 'fiends'.

[38] See Ellis, chapter VII.

[39] As _Godes andsacan_ (786) Grendel is given a demonic

Beowulf's conflict in such waters must inevitably have given rise to such interpretations as Cabaniss' and McNamee's[40] wherein Beowulf becomes a symbol of Christ and his subterranean struggle a harrowing of hell. Previously (pp. 72f.) I suggested that as a Christian, Andrew lived the life of Christ without becoming a de facto symbol of Christ. As a vanquisher of evil, Beowulf might readily suggest to the Beowulf poet and his audience the Christian hero living in imitation of Christ. Hence, the poet might consciously include the biblical detail noted by Klaeber and listed by Cabaniss to identify Beowulf not as Christ but as an alter Christo. Both Andrew and Beowulf are Christ-like, but neither of them is Christ.

Surging waters in Beowulf symbolize the presence of evil; conversely, Beowulf's pacific sea-trips indicate one recognized as soðfæst. Nature elsewhere is not unsympathetic to the cares of men. Guthlac, the temper of his faith having been tried and found true, communes with God's creatures and passes his earthly exile bliss-

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significance (see p. 66 n. 10); fag wið God (811) is another phrase used elsewhere exclusively to describe the inhabitants of hell: XSt. 96; And. 1188, 1386f. They shade the image of Grendel with a diabolic darkness, but they do not literally equate him with Satan. For a consideration of such epithets see Hamilton, 120ff. and Emerson, 880ff.

[40] "Beowulf and the Liturgy", and "Beowulf - An Allegory of Salvation?", respectively.

fully in verdant surroundings (731ff.). During Andrew's first night in prison fetters the country is gripped by the bonds of winter (1255ff.). There are heavy frosts and sea-paths freeze. Yet winter is nowhere evident in Andrew's arrival -- he even sleeps on the ground outside Mermedonia; nor is there any evidence of winter during his departure or during the deluge. Similarly, the chill of wintry seas expresses the care of Adam, the Seafarer, and the Wanderer; the turbulence of the wintry seas and their icy walls both confine Hengest to Finn's land and reflect the mental anguish which Hengest is experiencing. The heavens are said to weep over Grendel's mere (1376), and when Beowulf is cremated the winds are stilled so that the smoke might rise to heaven (3146). So too the stars and the sea are aroused by Christ's suffering (Chr. 1127ff.).

That the seas do recognize a man of virtue and accordingly afford safe passage is posited explicitly at least twice.

> hwa hine gesette
> timmeahtig cyning;
> ongean gyrede,
> ofer sine yðe gan.
> his frean fet
>
> Hwæt, eac sæ cyðde
> on sidne grund,
> forþon he hine tredne him
> þonne god wolde
> Eahstream ne dorste
> flode bisencan . . . . .
> (Chr. 1163ff.)

The scop makes a similar comment when Andrew's faith has quelled the tempestuous waters:

Forþan is gesyne, soð orgete,
cuð oncnawen, þæt ðu cyninges eart
þegen gebungen, þrymsittendes,
forþan þe sona sæholm oncneow,
garsecges begang, þæt ðu gife hæfdes
haliges gastes. (And. 526ff.)

The seas never fail to recognize the follower of Christ. During Beowulf's two voyages over the back of the sea the winds lend willing support, and the waters are calm. The words used during Beowulf's first trip, when

for ar̃stafum Hine halig God
to West-Denum us onsende
(381ff.),

connote flight, speed and a safe journey. Bonjour suggests[41] that swanrade (200) introduces the flota famiheals fugle gelicost (218). Words indicative of passage, not conflict, are employed; he courses the lagustræte (239), ofer holmas (240), yblade (228). Beowulf's return trip is described in as brief and appropriate terms. The sea is called the ganotes bæð (1861)[42] immediately before the homeward voyage begins, and words like brimstreamas (1910) are used to course the ship safely to the land of the Geats. In both excursions the phrase flota famiheals (218, 1909) appears, suggestive perhaps of the sæmearh or the swan. In both cases the wind assists the favourable

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41 "The Sea Images in Beowulf", 112f.

42 For a discussion of the phrase see Bonjour, ibid., 112 and Brady, "The Synonyms for 'Sea' in Beowulf", 27.

passage (217, 1907f.).

manna ænigne
lungre gelettan.

Flodwylm ne mæg
ofer meotudes est
(And. 516ff.)

The Elene poet composes entirely within the same tradition. Favoured with the Lord's help, Constantine's troops rout the enemy host who stream to the lonely mountains or gasp their last breath in the clutches of the sea (133ff.). Conversely, the virtuous mother of Constantine rides swiftly and safely upon Mediterranean sea-streets. Her Fearoðhengestas (226), sæmaras (228, 245), wæghengestas (236) are as eager to course the mearcpaðu (233) as the Queen herself. Because of the equestrian image landpaths are further equated with seapaths and the relative security of the crossing is emphasized; to augment this illusion the scop sends his steed over the mearcpaðu (233), merestræte (242) ofer baðweg (244), rushed on by the egstreame (241). Moreover, the expression

on egstreame
on merestræte,

Ne hyrde ic sið ne ær
idese lædan,
mægen fægerre. (240ff.)

is a formulaic phrasing similar to the Exodus comment on Noah, Andrew's sea journey, and Scyld's burial; as such it adds to the idea of safe passage since all include the hint of Divine Providence. But the sea is also the fifelwæg (237), a reminder that it is hazardous for any who would feud with God; it is alternately the wæges helm (230) since the sea's waves do transport and protect the soðræst over the bosom of the sea.

V

THE SEA AS THE PATH OF THE DEAD

Water which separates and/or leads to the after-life has classical and Scandinavian origins, but such waters are also Christian enough to appear in the Old English Phoenix and again as late as the 14th century Pearl. They are, moreover, implicit in much Old English poetry wherein the seas of life establish a means by which one approaches one's eternal home. Such waters are especially evident in Whale and The Seafarer.[1]

Miss Ellis' book, The Road to Hel, outlines Scandinavian burial tradition and the trip to Hel or Valhalla, a trip often made over water. In the pagan tradition into which Scyld's burial must be placed the journey is made by body and soul, but in the Christian tradition it is undertaken by the soul only, and the

æfter swyltcwale gæstes sið (And. 155f.)

occurs frequently in Old English poetry. Because it

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[1] See my discussion in chapter II. I. L. Gordon, The Seafarer, pp. 8ff. is unwilling to accept Smithers' contention that the modes fusne of the Seafarer is an eagerness to meet physical death literally.

incorporates the loneliness, anxiety and trepidation of the long trip to the eternal land, Cynewulf's conclusion to The Fates of the Apostles is a useful point of departure.

	Hu, ic freonda bepearf
liðra on lade,	þonne ic sceal langne ham,
eardwic uncuð,	ana gesecean,
lætan me on laste	lic, eorðan dæl,
wælreaf wunigean	weormum to hroðre. (91ff.)
	Ic sceall feor heonan,
an elles forð,	eardes neosan,
sið asettan,	nat ic sylfa hwær,
of þisse worulde.	Wic sindon uncuð,
eard ond eðel,	swa bið ælcum menn
nemþe he godcundes	gastes bruce. (109ff.)

The trip to hell is almost invariably associated with water or the ness, but this is not true of the heavenly journey. Even in a poem where the ness makes its traditional appearance, Guthlac's heavenly voyage -- itself reminiscent of Chad's death and ascension in Bede's Ecclesiastical History (pp. 204ff., IV, 3) -- is through the air:

Swa wæs Guðlaces	gæst gelæded
engla fæðmum[2]	in uprodor . . . .
	(Glc. (A) 781f.; cf. (B) 1306ff.)

The scop further comments that such a journey might be expected by each of the faithful:

Swa soðfæstra	sawla motun
in eone geard	up gestigan
rodera rice	(790ff.)

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[2] The redemptive connotation of this phrase is discussed on p. 46.

But the heavenly trip is not always depicted as an ascension. Maxims I, ii (Records III) notes that

Deop deada wæg dyrne bið lengest;(78)

Andrew's final sea journey leads to the heavenly kingdom and is contrasted with the jaws of hell which consume the friendless demon. Benevolent streams fructify the iglond (Phx. 9, 287) on which the Phoenix dwells and which is separated by water from the land of men to the west (2); a little to the east lie the gates of heaven and the dwelling of the sun, lifes tacen (254), the symbol of lifes brytta. Though the regions of water are not mentioned explicitly on the journey, the cosmology suggests that the trip the Phoenix makes both to the land of men where it meets death and to the land of the Sun where it is eternized is a voyage over watery regions. Hence there is established a poetic basis for a passing to the heavenly home over the seas, even in a Christian context.

For an audience who appreciate historical references to Heremod, Hrothulf, et cetera, a Christian burial for either Scyld or Beowulf would be anachronistic. The scop asserts that Christian dead should be buried (1004ff.), but Beowulf laments the Danes' inability to cremate Aeschere (2124ff.). Scyld receives a pagan burial; however, it is described in a phraseology which is not specifically pagan. At Scyld's death he is said to feran on Frean wære (27), a phrase which is echoed throughout Old English

poetry and connotatively expresses the trip to the heavens (see p. 46). The concept is later stated in decidedly Christian terms:

> æfter deaðdæge — Wel bið þæm þe mot
> ond to Fæder fæþmum — Drihten secean
> freoðo wilnian!
> (186ff.; cf. Gen. 114f.)

A Christian audience will accept a pagan funeral on historical grounds, but will they accept a pagan heaven?

Cynewulf makes it quite clear that the hinsið of the Christian soul is a solitary journey shrouded in mystery and that the soul must travel feor heonan so that when Scyld is given a specific destination with the phrase hwa þæm hlæste onfeng (52) an air of mystery is added with the feor gewitan (42) and Men ne cunnon (50). Similar phrases are used at Grendel's death, but his destination is prescribed:

> on feonda geweald — se ellorgast
> feor siðian (807f.)

and hel onfeng (852).[3]

The Danes take care to provide a fitting departure for a "warlike and royal" warrior;[4] the scop punctuates the military splendour by trusting Scyld's body on garsecg

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[3] In the lament of the lone survivor there is the suggestion that the men have travelled wide feran (2261) and that the armour is unable to follow.

[4] Klaeber, n. 4ff., p. 120.

(49). Other sea terms like leton holm beran (48) and on flodes æht (42) personify the sea and suggest natural and supernatural guidance, and to brimes faroðe (28) carves a pathway along which the funeral ship is to travel. Nothing is left merely to chance; the sea unerringly transports the dead to their new home.[5]

The dead in Beowulf all find their way to the seas. Though mortally wounded Grendel returns to the depths to give up his heathen soul, his mother dies there, Aeschere's head is found there (though his soul had previously left the body, v. 1406), the dragon is cast into the sea, and Beowulf is buried by the sea.

The unceremonious rites accorded to the dragon follow and intensify the elaborate preparations for Beowulf's funeral. The guardian of the treasure is pushed

> ofer wæallclif, leton weg niman,[6]
> flod fæðmian frætwa hyrde. (3132f.)

Ironically, the guardian of the hoard is buried with no treasure, a contrast to both Scyld and Beowulf. The word

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[5] Mythological interpretations visualize Scyld as a fertility figure and say that he is here being returned to the life-giving waters from whence he came as a child. See Chambers, Beowulf, An Introduction, pp. 302ff. and Klaeber's notes, p. 123.

[6] The phrase weg niman is perhaps an ironic echo of the very common deað or hilde nimeð since the waves conclude temporal life and wash the evil to the deaðsele.

fæmian recalls Scyld's burial, as does weg niman, and weg and flod are given the conventional protective personification. The dragon and Grendel are creatures of earth, and their final rest is appropriately in the bowels of the earth.

Beowulf is given the best of both the pagan and Christian worlds. Miss Ellis quotes from the Ynglinga Saga:

> It was then believed that the higher that the smoke rose in the air, the loftier would his position be in heaven whose burning it was; and the more possessions were burned with him, the richer he would be. (Road to Hel, p. 32)

She also remarks that pagan traditions suggest that a barrow be built as a commemoration of a famous man. Beowulf is buried with copious treasures (3010f.), the Heofon rece swe(a)lg (3155), and a barrow is quickly erected. But the funeral itself is inconsistent with pagan traditions. Miss Ellis notes that cremation was intended either to release the soul from the body or to carry the dead man to Othin.[7] Beowulf's soul has already begun its journey and his body is again referred to as sawlleasne (3033) before the body is submitted to the flames.

Like Trajan, his Christ-like deeds can, and apparently do, save him from pagan oblivion. When he dies

him of hreðre gewat
sawol secean soðfæstra dom. (2819f.)

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[7] P. 32.

The phrase echoes Andreas 227ff.:

	þone mæran ham,
þær soðfæstra	sawla moton
æfter lices hryre	lifes brucan.

Furthermore, the word soðfæst appears so frequently in Andreas, Guthlac, Exodus, and a host of other poems each time referring to the Christian faithful who are to enjoy the bliss of heaven that it would be impossible to dissociate the word from its usual meaning.

But why is Beowulf's monument built by the sea? Its purpose, as Beowulf stated it, was a reminder for seafarers who might look upon it

	ða ðe brentingas
ofer flóda genipu	feorran drifað. (2807f.)

Wiglaf reports these wishes and adds an eulogistic wigend weorðfullost (3099), an addition one might expect from the same man who distorted the facts of the dragon fight to glorify his drihten (2877ff.). Beowulf's only personal 'praise' was a soul-searching (2732-2743) in preparation for his meeting with the Judge of man's deeds -- a preparation, one might add, not at all necessary in a pagan Scandinavian tradition. The monument is meant to recall for seafarers the glorious deeds of Beowulf, a function similar to the commemorative churches in Andreas and Elene. The barrow is a fitting reminder of the selfless noble whose life's struggles purged the sea-paths so that men might pass safely. It is no pagan

memorial designed merely to glorify the dead.

But all of these considerations assume more significant proportions when placed in their over-all Old English poetic context. Beowulf's encounter with the dragon was religiously performed for the good of his people. In each of the contests by which he purges the waters -- the Breca episode, his fight with Grendel's mother, and, implicitly, his introductory speech -- the seafarers for whom he risks his life are not just some men nor are they actual sailors, but Christians traversing the symbolic seas of life. With a Christ-like heroism Beowulf pursues the figurative powers of darkness even into the hellish subterranean realms. Hence he is appropriately entombed upon the Hronesnæs (2805, 3136) to remind the Christian seafarers who feorran drifað that the sæpað is also the hwælweg beset with demonic snares, snares impatient to fetter the unwary. The apparent dejection with which Beowulf concludes is similar to the closing of Piers Plowman; in each case the appearance of pessimism is dispelled by the victory enjoyed by the protagonist. The Christian struggle is a personal one, but one not without hope. By following the Christ-like example provided by a Beowulf, one can journey successfully ofer lifes weg to be numbered among the soðfæst.

CONCLUSION

Because of the thematic continuity within Old English poetry no Anglo-Saxon poem will yield its full meaning when it is studied without regard to its context within the Anglo-Saxon poetic canon. The validity of such a statement is rooted in the hypothesis that through its continuous use in extant poetic documents a word can accumulate connotative significance which will color its meaning in subsequent and even apparently novel contexts. A phrase like *godes andsaca* or *fah wið god*, for example, is primarily applied to hell-dwellers and must necessarily designate as evil Grendel or any individual to whom it is applied; similarly, a variation of *on godes wære* suggests Divine protection and redemption, whereas forms approximating *deaðsele* (e.g. Grendel's *deabwic*) evoke thoughts of the hellish.

From this concept of thematic continuity it is possible to trace the image of the earthly exile through two ancestral sources. The first flows through Lucifer, Cain, Cham, Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the generations of demons who roam the earth hoping to beguile the Christian. Such beings live in perpetual exile from man and *Drihten*.

Conversely, there are the exiles separated from Paradise by Adam's sin, who yearn to return, and whose life on earth is a sorrowful, though temporary, sojourn. Their lineage extends through Adam repentant, Noah, Moses, the Jewish people who follow Moses, Andrew, Guthlac and Beowulf. The terms by which they are described at first merely depict the wanderer bereft of the joys of heaven, but the image of the seafarer when used in a Christian context[1] soon becomes identical with such a man. At the end of the sea journey which is his life there awaits the ecan ham and lifes brytta, just rewards for the soðfæst. For evil beings there are the welling waters and/or the consuming flames, the deaðsele beneath the sea's floor.

The loyalty each member of the Anglo-Saxon society owed to his lord was readily translated into Christian terms. The tripartite driht expressed in such words as morþres brytta (the lord of hell), sinces brytta (the earthly lord), lifes brytta (the Lord of heaven) is central to large sections of Old English poetry. Mention of one level of the driht automatically associates it with another. When the Wanderer sorrows over the loss of his sinces brytta the

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[1] The elegiac imagery and the importance of the sea in such poems as The Wife's Lament and The Husband's Message do not qualify them as objects for the present study because the sea is here merely a barrier or a roadway. Without a Christian context there is no demonstrable basis for symbolic meaning.

audience reflects that the loss of one's lifes brytta is the only true cause for grief; this response is reinforced by the ubi sunt formulae with which the poem concludes. The demonic halls of Beowulf are places of death, and all Christians know that the perfection for which the earthly winsele, Heorot, was intended is possible only in that deoran ham where nǽs bær ænigum gewinn (And. 888).

As a vehicle for Christian thought and instruction the sea presents a continuous image often traceable to biblical episodes; the Pentateuch serves as a particularly rich source of such veiled allusions. For the Anglo-Saxon the work of God is manifest in nature. He is able to intervene directly in the life of man by causing storms and manipulating the welling of the seas. Destructive waters are invariably personified, but they act only apparently as independent agents. The scop frequently interposes to remind his audience of the Ruler of the Waves, as he does in Genesis, Exodus, Andreas, Beowulf, and as Bede does in his Ecclesiastical History. Demonic agents too exert some control over the elements, though theirs is invariably a destructive influence.[2] The very presence of such creatures troubles the waters in Beowulf.

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[2] Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry", 9f. discusses the apparent paradox of Divine and diabolic influence over the elements.

In Juliana (478ff.) the devil reluctantly admits that he does stir the depths of the sea in order to drag men to the halls of hell; Bede (Ecclesiastical History, p. 58, I, 17) makes a similar comment. However, the powers of good inevitably prevail since

> heaðoliðendum God eaðe mæg
> helpe gefremman. (And. 425f.)

In this Christ-centred universe, the Christian knight is depicted as a Christ-like hero who lives the life of Christ and whose deeds echo His. Such an imitation is evident in many of the stories which constitute Bede's Ecclesiastical History, in parts of Beowulf, in much of Andreas, and to some extent in Guthlac.

Frequently the waters symbolize redemption and baptism by carrying the evil to the demonic depths, thereby purging the land and providing a new home for the virtuous. In each case the symbolism is suggested by familiar images and their associative significance. This is entirely the case in Genesis; Exodus adds an explicit directive for the audience to look beneath the surface meaning; Andreas contains Old Testament allusion, juxtaposes the deluge and baptismal waters, and casts Andrew in an obvious imitation of Christ. Beowulf differs from the others because it is a secular depiction of the struggle between good and evil. Although the scop uses the traditional pattern of images and

New Testament allusion to describe a Christ-like figure, the waters are not baptismal; they house unholy creatures and as such are troubled, even hostile, but with the defeat of evil they too are pacified.

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